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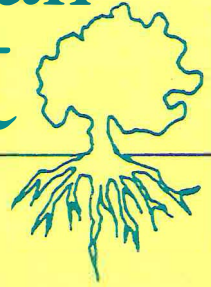
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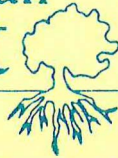


*A journal devoted to Swedish American
biography, genealogy and personal history*

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A Curate's Notes on Colporteurs and Mission Friends

Arthur A. Helgerson*

The records of the Church of Sweden, specifically the parish registers of births, christenings, marriages, and deaths, are a gold mine of information for the genealogist. However, if you pay attention, you can come upon a variety of historical information including epidemics, floods, droughts, crop failures, and even royal decrees.

In some parishes the pastors have recorded a listing of the parish pastors since the founding of the parish church. Of particular interest can be the musings and observations of an observant pastor who dares to record his comments in the parish register amongst the vital records.

As I worked through the registers for Romelanda Parish, in the province of Bohuslän, in developing my paternal grandmother's ancestry, I came upon a fascinating essay handwritten by a young pastor assigned to the parish as curate (*pastorsadjunkt*). He clearly had read the input of other pastors in the parish. Nicolaus F. A. Jörlin had arrived in the parish as curate in October 1879. Not until 22 January 1880 did he begin to record his observations. From his writing you soon learn that he had arrived in a parish regularly visited by colporteurs (*kolportörs*) and populated by a growing number of Bible readers, already known as *läsare*. Eventually these ardent searchers in scripture were to coalesce into a breakaway denomination known to us as Mission Friends (*Missionsvänner*). In the course of time, they became the Evangelical Covenant Church of Sweden. As the Swedish immigrants of their persuasion grew in numbers here in America, they formed the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America (now Evangelical Covenant Church).

Having been raised in Covenant churches in Rhode Island, I was very familiar with some of the terms. Colporteurs were traveling book salesmen, more and more of whom became traveling preachers. Clearly they were selling Bibles and other religious writings of the time. My paternal great-grandfather, in his letters to his sons in Providence, Rhode Island, used to urge them to subscribe to *Pietisten*, a newsletter for these mission friends. The colporteurs were encouraging the people to read and interpret the Bible for themselves. The Swedish Lutheran Church was slow to recognize the growth of reading capability in the populace.

The name of Waldenström was also familiar to me in church and family. Little did I know then that he was a proper pastor of the State Church of

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Sweden, who in the course of time took up the cause of these Bible readers, tried to accommodate their desire to take holy communion at their own worship gatherings, and was defrocked by the Lutheran Church. He in turn became a colporteur and eventually a schoolteacher in Romelanda (*vide infra*). In the words of the young curate we read the other side of the story in a fascinating account. My translation of his account covers only his commentary on the colporteurs, Waldenström, parish house calls by horseback, school visits, and the list of his commentary on Dr. Luther's letter regarding laypreachers.

oOo

**Commentary by Nicolaus F. A. Jörlin, Curate in
Romelanda Parish, as found in the parish register**

Although not the pastor of the parish, but only his curate (*pastorsadjunkt*), I venture nevertheless to record random reflections about happenings in the parish during my stay there. The reason these notes will be few in number lies in the fact that only near the end of my stay here did I learn of the presence of prior annotations in the book and, therefore, I could not begin to write therein until quite late. However, I must console myself in the same way as *Prosten* (the rural dean) Bohlin does at the beginning of his notes, when he quotes the old proverb: Better late than never. Romelanda parsonage 22 January 1880.

The first Sunday I preached in the Romelanda church, a day in early October 1879, there were uncommonly few people present. Country people will as a rule, when they hear a new pastor is to preach, generally appear in fairly great numbers. But not even the rumor of the new pastor had been able to induce the good Romelanders to betake themselves to the church. What a poor prospect there must be for regular attendance in a congregation, when not even curiosity will beguile people to church!

At a communion service that was held in Romelanda some days before Christmas in the same year, it happened that several colporteur families (i.e., families who favor colporteurs) partook of Holy Communion together with the rest of the congregation. Pastor Magnusson spoke of this as something particularly remarkable. The colporteurs' people, you see, as he later stated, had over the passage of several years constantly stayed away from church and communion: They took communion in homes within closed doors and only with such they considered children of God. In an examination for communion and even privately, I have tried to enlighten the congregation concerning the conflict with scripture in such behavior. It is sad, however, that what a pastor says as instruction in such a case will not be of benefit for those who have been led astray. It could be of benefit if they attended church. But that they do not do. They do not have enough

confidence in a pastor to dare to hear him there. O, what a trick of Satan is it not, to bring about such a division between teacher and audience! How much work is needed on the part of the teacher, how much love, shown to the sheep who have been led astray, if these are not still to flee from him as from a stranger, without recognizing in him the good shepherd's voice.

My time here has been short and I have accomplished little in this matter. May another have better success. May God raise up a man of His mind and spirit, a man who, while having his attention on his herd and guarding her from the wolves, lets himself be led by the spirit of wisdom, love, and meekness, so that he seeks the lost sheep until he finds them.

In the late fall of 1879, a substitute schoolteacher in Romelanda, Waldenström by name (his name was Waldenström and he was Waldenström, i.e., Paul Peter Waldenström) undertook for himself the ill advice to say to the children in his school that Jesus wishes that all Christians shall preach and teach, and that one might therefore just as well go to the mission house and hear the colporteurs as to go to church and hear the pastors. Personally, he, i.e., Waldenström, never went to church but traveled to Göteborg in order to hear teachers of new evangelical color.

However, Pastor Magnusson was himself present in the school one time and heard Waldenström let fall the above-named audacious utterance. This he, Magnusson, thought went too far and therefore intervened a little in the instruction, correcting the daring phrases. In addition he urged the teacher to examine the class on the third commandment of the catechism. Waldenström, who realized that he would thereby come to the section re "scorn the sermon and God's word," declared that he could not examine at that locus because the children had not gotten that far. Pastor Magnusson persisted in his wish and ordered him to examine on the third commandment. At that point the teacher, Waldenström, became enraged, slammed his fist on his desk, screamed and shouted that he had been persecuted by the pastor, and left the schoolroom promising that he would nevermore return. The pastor, however, continued teaching the children as if nothing had happened. After an interval, Waldenström returned and was then somewhat more humble. Not long thereafter he was relieved of his duties. Pastor Magnusson told this story to me. I myself saw and heard so much of Waldenström that I perceived that the man had a predisposition for bullying and insubordination. Otherwise, he was not bad in his teaching. May God protect schools and congregations from similar *Waldenströmare!*

If one compares the citizens of Karreby with those of Romelanda, in the matter of church unity, the result is as follows: the Karreby church is nearly always full of people at worship; church attendance in Romelanda, on the other hand, is very irregular. Sometimes it happens that there are many in church, sometimes few. This situation has its explanation, apart from the separatist movements that were almost exclusively confined to the Romelanda parish, in the natural local conditions. The Karreby church you

see lies more centrally in the parish. Conversely, the Romelanda church lies at one border of the elongated parish. Ordinarily the rule is that the church shall stand in the midst of the town. But they paid no attention to this rule when they built Romelanda's church. One must think they favored the pastor's convenience over the congregation's.

Parish calls within the parish are at times both numerous and difficult. The latter is particularly true of those that come from the undeveloped countryside of the so-called crofters' district of Romelanda parish. As evidence for the former on the other hand, it can be stated that within a period of two to three months, twelve to fifteen parish calls can occur. There are people as well, who, even if healthy and sound of body, call the pastor to minister to themselves because they feel that it is too cold and stormy in the winter to go to church and partake of the sacraments. Naturally the pastor may not consider it cold and stormy to travel to them. Such misuse of the precious parish calls privilege should, however, if it continues, be the subject for attention at a future visit.

In the year 1880 on the 8th of January, I was called on a parish call to Höghult to which the road went over the so-called Bratteliden (steep way), from which dizzying height one had a beautiful bird's-eye view over the village of Solberg, the Göta River and the plain alongside the river. During the transit by horseback of this road, which meandered and zigzagged all the way from bottom to top of the mountain, one could scarcely escape thinking of Napoleon, when he climbed the Alps.

Having arrived on the spot, I found that the sick person was an old man in poor circumstances. Not long before he had had, like Job, a visit by two friends (presumably relatives of his) of colporteurs who had conversed with him concerning his soul's salvation. The main point of their conversation had been that he now surely lay at death's door and that he, therefore, ought to be sure whether he would wind up in heaven or hell. Were he not sure, he would certainly sink down into the abyss of lost souls. The poor man became very concerned over this and asked them what he should do, asked them if he should call for a teacher or a pastor. Thereupon they retorted that he might rather forget that, for there would be no use to that. I asked him then, if these officious folks who had so upset him about his spiritual welfare had also advised him how he should come to that certainty and peace in his spiritual life about which they had talked. He answered, "No, they did not," but as soon as they had posed a few questions and pronounced the frightening words, they went their way.

I became strengthened, hereby, in my belief and conviction that the care of the soul that is left at the sickbeds, by the colporteurs and their disciples, is just as distorted as that practiced in their conventicle. To talk in this manner to the worried soul so he/she falls into despair is no skill. The devil is capable of that much skill. But that is not to talk as God's word speaks. God's word speaks so that it both smites and heals, both deadens

and brings to life, both to hell and therefrom. But whoever speaks of the spiritual can speak as God's word speaks. If the colporteurs and their friends speak as above related, then they are not speaking God's word. They are, for that reason, blind leaders and know not what they say or what they condemn, however much they intimate that they are driven by God's spirit and that the anointing teaches them all things.

The same day in the afternoon I visited Fredborg's school, where he was teaching in Solberg. There were many children present. Fredborg examined them on the first commandment of the catechism. By example from the Bible and by personal experiences, he showed that he supported the teaching, that he explained it to the children. The main fault in his catechismal study was probably that he, himself, talked too much and the children too little. There was an associated tendency to lose himself in specialties. Otherwise, he associated well with the children, maintained good discipline and, on the whole, acquitted himself well.

On the 26th of the same month, I again visited the grammar school in Solberg, with the object of hearing Fredborg instruct in subjects not previously heard. That objective was, nevertheless, not won, for Fredborg's wife, *Fru* Fredborg, substituted that day for her husband at the school. Fortunately, she herself had previously been a teacher, so one can hope that the schoolchildren do not suffer particularly in such an exchange. At least this applies to the teaching of Christian knowledge. In that subject, she instructed just as well as her husband, to my mind. Like her husband, she was good and friendly toward the children when she talked to them. She even drilled them in song and gymnastics. Few teachers have at their disposal so good a singing voice as *Fru* Fredborg.

As something notable in its way may here be noted, that under my period of service of about three months, not a single christening was officiated at in church. Such ceremonies now take place in the parsonage during office hours. It would be strange if this practice doesn't soon come to be cited as justification for an attempt to take communion in groups, which gather not in church, but here and there in homes. It will then come to be said: when one of the sacraments, christening, can be conducted in private homes without losing its sacredness and blessing, why not that other sacrament, the Holy Communion? He who lives will see how it goes.

In the month of January 1880, the noteworthy occurred: Romelanda church for several Sundays in a row was nearly full of people. The reason for this was the following. I had assured myself of the fact that the so-called Mission Friends (colporteurs' friends) regularly stayed away from church and communion, and considered what could become the consequence hereof, namely that others still not affected by separation might take a fancy to this and follow the stream. So I undertook to read to the congregation from the pulpit from Luther's well-known letter concerning sneaky corner preachers and to accompany this with necessary commentaries. These

readings lasted for four Sundays. The prologue to the readings was of the following wording. As it often enough happens here in the congregation that now one, now another lay preacher appears with a sermon and a spiritual discourse without, neither he nor his listeners having presented themselves before the parish pastors. The former to inform the pastor of the teaching he proclaims; the latter to seek advice, whether such a worship service is good and in accordance with God's word. Also to hear the arguments that might be brought forth for or against, without both, layspeakers and layhearers, considering themselves in this matter far too intelligent to take counsel from someone other than themselves. And, consequently, it is to be feared that a different doctrine is being promoted at the laymen's meetings than at our evangelical Lutheran church meetings. Since in any case our layman friends should also hear our church's proper teacher, which they do not do, or if they do it, they do it very seldom and very unwillingly.

So I have resolved to the service of those who have not yet taken final farewell of our evangelical Lutheran church's temple, pastors, sermons, communion, care of the soul, etc, to express some thoughts concerning named laypreacher's right to practice churchly soul care in visited congregations, as well as benefit or injury for distressed souls entrusting themselves to such spiritual leaders. But though I know that the people who are in pain gather around layman speakers here in the parish, they already have gotten so far into unchurchliness that they set little or no trust in what the church's teacher has to say, even if he strengthens his talk with arguments taken from the Bible and the Creed. So it would be rather presumptuous of me to hope that anyone of the layman friends would respect my word and, on that basis, change their convictions.

For that reason I plan to begin by letting another teacher of the Church speak in my place, namely Luther; if any spark of faith in this man should still be found present with the lost and any of them possibly change their minds about the devil's snare. Also I wish, then, first of all to cite the letter that Doctor Luther wrote in 1531 on this matter to Eberhard von der Tannen, county man in Württemberg, which letter most clearly alludes to Anabaptists, but even in the greater number of parts are applicable to our time's lay preachers and to those who hear such. The letter has the following wording: I have heard...etc.

Since this letter was read in church, the congregation was made aware of the fact that Luther here most definitely disapproved that laymen teach and preach publicly in the congregation, and he does this principally for the following reasons:

- I. They are *smygare*, (operate furtively, on the sly).
- II. They do not have the right calling.
- III. They are unknown.

- IV. They assume the office of others.
- V. They establish *parte* (division?).
- VI. They break up the orderliness of the Church.
- VII. They scorn the confession of the Church.
- VIII. They distort Scripture.

These sentences were each explained and proof of their truth cited from the Bible and the Confession. Finally, the conclusion was drawn from this that it is wrong, both that laymen rise up and preach openly, when there is no need at hand, and that others hear them. In connection herewith the congregation was warned against false teaching and admonished to remain with God's word and the Confession's healthy teaching. May God give his blessing hereto so that any troubled soul comes to realize the urgency that she not only hears God's word, but that she also hears a clean and clear God's word, a word that can make her blessed, and also prays God to protect her from all such preachers, who teach differently than God's word teaches, as Luther does when he says "Whoever differently teaches and lives than God's word teaches, he desecrates God's name among us." Protect us therefrom, O Heavenly Father!

Postscript

So read the first fifteen pages of his annotation. I have another fifteen pages untranslated and there are more pages that I did not copy. I can only say that this was an enlightening glimpse into the turmoil engendered between the staid and self-assured Church of Sweden and the newly literate populace that chose to explore and interpret the Bible for themselves.

This was by no means the only parish where the church experienced this new phenomenon. My research has taken me to many parishes in Älvsborg *län*, where the household examination rolls record absence from the examination. In many, the notation *egen fata* is recorded.

By *One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962), the definitive history of the Evangelical Covenant Church of America (now the Evangelical Covenant Church) written by Karl A. Olsson, gives the Covenant slant on the origin and growth of the denomination. It also details the visit of Doctor Waldenström to the United States in 1889.

Anders Blomberg: Parish Tailor, Preacher, and Emigrant⁺

Emil Herlenius
Translated by John E. Norton*

During the mid-1800s, as a great popular revival swept over large parts of Sweden, one colporteur after another began working. That was also the case in the province of Dalarna. Some of those colporteurs were pure humbugs, choosing to wander around instead of seeking honorable employment, while they made good money at the cost of trusting people. Among them were the “converted” Jew, Landy, and a man from Gotland named Bergström, both of whom were appealing to women because of their appearance. Others, like the Baptist agitator Winborg, were guilty of impure acts.

Through the development of the *Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen* (The Evangelical National Foundation) this lay preaching became better regulated, so that the real crooks soon vanished and in their place came activities of serious and warmly religious men, who brought a healthy and cultivated influence to bear on religious life in all of Dalarna. Among them were Graf Olof Andersson, Prest Olof Jonsson, and Albin Fogelqvist. During that time, among the first of the province’s lay preachers was a man, who, while not being a real crook, brought an other than good influence to those places in which he chose to work. It was the Mora parish tailor, Anders Blomberg, who in his time awakened great attention and came into conflict with both spiritual and worldly authority.

Anders Blomberg was born 6 March 1818 in Myggsjö, Orsa Finnmark, son of Olof Sigfridsson and his wife Lena Ersdotter. He was weak at birth and received emergency baptism, performed by his pastor on the 11th of that month. Shortly after, his father died, and his mother moved a few years later with her daughters to Västerås, where she had relatives. Her son Anders was confirmed there and became apprenticed to a tailor named Blomquist. It was probably from him that he took the name Blomberg. After five and one-half years, he became employed in Falun as an apprentice, first at Sjögrens, then with Petrini. His mother, who had remarried and again become a widow in Västerås, moved to Lidिंगön, where her older son Peter was a timber trader.

+ An article series written by Emil Herlenius for *Falu-kuriren* in 1932-33 (republished in *Dalfolk*, nr. 2, 1994), which describes the migration from Mora, Sweden, to Bishop Hill, Illinois, in 1846 and from Älvdalen, Sweden, to Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, in 1868-1869. Reprinted by permission of the chief editor of *Falu-kuriren* and the editor of *Dalfolk*.

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A Religious Crisis

In Falun, Anders Blomberg soon came into contact with some so-called "readers" (devotionalists) living there and he experienced a religious crisis of a quite violent nature. Both Sjögren and Petrini gave sworn statements before the magistrate in Falun that he was at first sober and quiet, but later became stranger and stranger and, in his disturbed state, began to drink large quantities. While under the influence, he preached to furniture in his room. He himself admitted to having lived a "slothful" life, however not any different than that of his comrades. In 1840 he received his apprentice certificate and the next year moved to Färnäs in Mora, where he soon was employed as parish tailor, while opening a business selling snuff and small articles of clothing. In 1845 he married a girl from Falun, Anna Gustava Johansson. In that marriage a daughter, Sofia Helena, was born the following year.

In Mora, Blomberg began to preach almost immediately after his arrival and he soon won some considerable popularity. His entire behavior was now quieter and he usually confined himself to using Ekmansson's and Tomasson's devotional books. He appeared mostly in the villages of Öna, Östannor, and Vattnäs. He also joined the temperance society begun shortly before by Vicar Dr. P. G. Svedelius.

Blomberg Becomes an Erik Janssonist

Soon, his presentations on the Bible began to differ somewhat from the teachings of the Lutheran State Church. Congregations were warned by their pastors not to be led astray by this, and the bailiff tried once at a meeting in Östnor to arrest him, but did not succeed. Soon, however, many of those who had previously listened to him began to leave him. The shame of this irritated Blomberg's growing self-esteem, which was approaching spiritual self-importance, and he decided to seek his fortunes elsewhere. For this reason, he got in contact with the infamous Erik Jansson, who at that time was awakening greater and greater attention, and went to Alfta, where he gained a rather great reputation. In February 1845 he returned to Dalarna as a fanatical Janssonist and visited a family in Orsa he had previously known, recognized for their Godfearing nature. He encouraged the family to, at least for the present, set aside all books except the Bible and warned them especially about Nohrborg's devotional book.

He also expressed sharp damnation of the preachers and services of the State Church. Finally, he ordered all those present to take him by the hand so that he, by his benediction, could bring such an absolution that they could never again sin, since everything they did could no longer be counted against them as sin. "Luther," he said, "brought darkness to the world, but Erik Jansson has again brought light. All Lutheran clergy are antichrists and servants of the devil."

Since none of those present wished to follow him, he began to utter the gravest of damnations. But he was met firmly by a servant from Ovanåker, who warned the entire party about Erik Jansson, and roundly criticized Blomberg. At the close of that conversation, the servant went to parish pastor C. E. Sernander and told him what had happened.

Church Council Hearing

Sernander wrote immediately to Vicar Dr. P. G. Svedelius who, shortly after his arrival in Mora, called Blomberg before the church council, who examined him on 22 March. Blomberg then began to pour out on Svedelius all kinds of accusations, and called him a servant of the devil and the Lutheran faith as one of the devil. The church was called the home of the devil and Satan's synagogue, and its services those of the devil. Everyone who joined Erik Jansson was declared free of sin. No repentance or improvement was needed, since those who wished to be free of their sin only needed to take Blomberg by the hand and explain that he believed in Erik Jansson, then he could no longer commit sin. Finally, Blomberg claimed that he had supernatural gifts of grace, described at the close of Mark, and he offered to prove this, but only to the believers.

All of Dr. Svedelius's admonitions and explanations were met by derision and claims of lies and murdering souls, and Blomberg refused firmly to cease his activities by reason of his godly calling.

Fired as Parish Tailor

Those parishioners present were deeply disturbed and asked that Svedelius by lawful means rid them of this "wild slanderer," whom they did not wish to follow, and thus try to prevent the doubtful results that could follow in case the public and very vocal disapproval should turn into violence. At a parish meeting held shortly after, Blomberg was fired from his position as parish tailor.

Svedelius sent to the Ministry of Justice an explanation of everything that had happened and asked that Crown Bailiff H. Robsahm hold a hearing with Blomberg, who in court explained that he completely admitted to the above statements, with the exception of all abuse of authority, and that he saw himself obligated to win as many followers as possible. The bailiff, who got the impression that Blomberg was insane, sent him to hearing before the Falun Chancellery, after which Blomberg was put in the county jail, where he would remain until he was called to hearing before the Mora District Court.

Erik Janssonism Takes Root in Färnäs

In Färnäs, Blomberg had succeeded in winning some followers, creating serious arguments and much disunity between both neighbors and married

couples. Several of the village's more prosperous farmers joined openly with the Janssonists. In the late spring, a pair of Erik Jansson's most fanatical followers from Söderala, farmer Sven Larsson and his sister Kerstin, visited Färnäs. After having held some meetings, they were arrested and sent to the county jail in Falun, after which they were transferred to their home area. In Färnäs, several Erik Janssonists had followed the example of their fellow believers by burning Luther's writings, but not publicly as had been done in the above-mentioned province.

Trial and Judgment

In jail, Blomberg was visited by both the county governor and secretary, who both, by lawful and serious means, tried to convince him to come to his senses. But it was useless and they were met with abuse. He also, during a hearing held 14 June, claimed that he had been attacked by the warden with blows and pulling of hair, which the warden explained had taken place only in self-defense. He further claimed to have been mistreated by both the sheriff and Crown bailiff when he had been arrested in Mora.

His wife, described as a pious and simple person, delivered a letter of complaint to the Crown commandant concerning her husband's innocent sufferings and asked that she, as a defenseless woman, be cared for by the Crown. Upon questioning as to whether she had herself written the complaint, she said no, but she refused stubbornly to tell who had written it. The Crown Commandant decided that Mrs. Blomberg could not in any way prove her husband had been mistreated. Her demand that the Crown care for her and her children could not be accepted, since she was not herself in custody.

Anders Blomberg Declared Insane

On 8 September, a hearing was held with Blomberg before the Mora District Court. He acted in his usual violent way, threw around Bible verses, abused the clergy and Luther's teachings, and cried that he did not wish to have such a devilish teaching for his soul, etc. The county attorney asked that the court minutes be sent to the Royal Sanity Board, which should express itself as to whether or not he had full command of his senses. While awaiting their decision, Blomberg, who asked for a hearing before the Royal Court of Appeals, remained jailed.

During the winter of 1845-46, many Erik Janssonists, who partly wished to strengthen the resolve and dreams of their followers there, while winning new proselytes, and to organize the planned emigration to America, visited Färnäs. From Erik Jansson himself, who was now on his way to America, there came a number of orders and requests.

On 3 May 1846 the Crown Commandant received a decision concerning Blomberg at the Falun District Court. It stated that since Blomberg was,

according to the Royal Sanity Board, insane relative to religious questions and examination found that his uncalled-for attacks against the clergy had come during the influence of the mental state from which he suffered, that Blomberg could not be held responsible, but should be turned over to proper authority for care, so that he would not be of danger to the public. Blomberg was thus sent on 5 May by jail transport to the Central Mental Hospital in Uppsala.

A few weeks before he had, during his imprisonment, shown himself to be a model prisoner and had requested a hearing before the provincial governor. This was allowed, but he used the opportunity to flee, though was immediately re-arrested. He claimed to have been especially ordered by God to do this and, when he was sent back to jail, he was admonished for having acted as poorly as Erik Jansson, who, as was known, had escaped from a jail transport in Söderala the previous fall. Blomberg then burst out righteously, "Surely, by God, is not Erik Jansson the Savior of the world!"

A Remarkable Letter

While in jail, he wrote a circular letter to his fellow believers. It shows his strong, fanatical belief in Erik Jansson, while it reveals his great lack of education. It reads as follows:

The love of our dear Jesus Christ and peace be with and over all those who believe, Amen.

Since I have received a higher light than I had before, I write you in the love of Christ, but I believe we shall soon be able to speak with each other personally, as truly as Jesus has made me alive in Him, and our joy shall be perfect, for by God's eternal power living in us when we live in complete belief in his Son, the doors will soon be opened for me, and the reason I have been here (in prison) so long is the result of my disbelief and ignorance.

Now there are probably others who are caught in the same snare as I, thus I must enlighten you about this through the grace of Christ. It is so that I have not understood how to believe and follow Erik Jansson, who has been made perfect for us by God, in wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, but I have with him had another savior, it has been myself who has lived in him, etc. I have stood at the Tree of Life but eaten of the tree of knowledge in ignorance, but now I see that he is the vine to which the lamb shall be bound according to Genesis 49:11, since he is the one who Jesus has awakened from death, and he shall make our mortal bodies alive and preach the same reconciliation, thus we have in him all Godly perfection, if we believe that we live in him and he in us, then we share the same Godly nature and he takes our weaknesses when he takes us unto himself, to care for us as we need, for he is the first fruits of the

resurrection that we by belief shall be made alive in him, according to 1 Corinthians 15.

Test yourselves to see if you believe, for those who do not believe in Erik Jansson lose their right as firstborn, as it says of Esau in Hebrews 12:16-17, and thus lose all blessing for eternity. Believe then as I have said, though it appears foolish to believe in him, but we must be saved by foolish preaching, for I have been given witness that if it seems foolish to believe in him, we should note that we must be saved by foolish preaching according to 1 Corinthians 1:21. For since we have all died in Adam, then we must all be made alive in Christ, since he is the first fruits of the resurrection, and if we follow him in belief, and believe that God has given him over to death for all of us, then we have been raised with him, so that we shall live as surely as he lives, and where he is we shall be also.

It is Erik who God has given for all of us, and those who believe him will not be shamed, for he is the stone which the builder cast aside, but is called by God to be costly and upon that rock God has built his church and congregation. He is the hero in Genesis 49:10-11 whom the people shall bow down to and the vine to which the lamb shall be bound.

It is Jesus Christ, the living son of God who gives us all life and blessing, all those who believe that he lives in us and we in him, for God does not accept any who pass him by, since God does not give his glory in the spirit, but if we believe that by him we have all blessing and grace which God the father has given his son Jesus Christ when he said this is my dear son in whom I am well pleased. I hear him and am saved from the coming wrath since I believed in his name and accepted him as God's son and savior of the world, and he has now taken me, and I know that nothing can separate us from his love, but where he is, there shall we be also. Since we then accept him as he has accepted us, then Jesus' perfect peace and joy will be with and upon us. This is wished by your friend and brother A. Blom. Amen.

P.S. I do not know in what way God will take me out of here and we should probably not know it. He will certainly take me out of here when he feels it is time, if we believe. I requested to go before the chancery today but was denied, since I tried to get away from them. If God had willed it, they could have not denied me. God will free me when he wishes.

Mora People to America 1846

In the summer of 1846, the immigration to America began. From Mora there were twenty-five persons, namely homeowner Kråkhans Per Persson and his brother Matts, Stickå Anders Andersson and Bur Erik Jansson, all with their families, as well as Blomberg with wife and daughter. The latter's wife had requested that the Crown release him to go to America and it was granted.

Letters arrived later from those emigrants in which they stated they were content with their situation. Among those letters was one from Blomberg, in which he abused those who had cared for him while in jail. A man from Färnäs, Sässar Olof Ersson, had been stopped from emigrating, with great difficulty, by those close to him. He then suffered depression and brooding, saying he had lost the salvation of his soul. He later hanged himself.

In Bishop Hill and Pleasant Hill

During his time in Bishop Hill, Erik Jansson's well-known colony in Illinois, Blomberg apparently did not play any great role. At least he was not mentioned in the known stories about the fate of the colony. But through letters home from Erik Janssonists, we do know that he was a member of the so-called group of twelve apostles who were to provide education to their youth.

In 1854 the colony was visited by some so-called Shakers [ed. There had been contact with the Shakers of Pleasant Hill as early as 1847, per documents in Bishop Hill Heritage Archives] who tried to win proselytes with some success, since the Shakers also supported perfectionism. Blomberg joined them and in the beginning of the 1860s we find him as one of the leaders of the Shaker colony in Pleasant Hill, Kentucky. That strangely extravagant sect called "Shakers" broke away in 1747 from the Quakers, through an hysterical and semi-crazed woman, Ann Lee, daughter and wife of a blacksmith, who is considered their spiritual mother and a kind of feminine equivalent of Christ.

They accepted a sexual dualism in God, shown first in Jesus Christ, then in Ann Lee. They demanded complete sexual abstinence of all their members and considered themselves to be free from sin. Pure communism existed in their communities. In their "meetings" or services, the "spirit" descends upon one, then another, and those who "receive the spirit" begin to shake violently. They call themselves "The Believers in Christ's Second Appearing." In America, they had been found mostly in New York, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana.

A Spring Trip to Sweden

Blomberg soon tired of just being a member of the colony and went back to Sweden in 1866 to win proselytes, or it seems more likely, to get new manpower. He now called himself "doctor" for greater effect. He first stayed outside Stockholm with his brother and succeeded in winning a few followers. Then he visited Dalarna, first some of the southern parishes, then Falun. There, he failed completely, since some Erik Janssonist emigrants from that city had written to their relatives and told about the Shaker movement, which they completely condemned.

In early March 1867 he came to Mora, where he held well-attended meetings in Hemus, Östnor, Öna, Färnäs, and Garsås. But in Mora itself he had been known for some time, and won no support anywhere in that parish. On 15

March he left there, going to Älvdalen, where he finally had better luck. He won one especially eager follower, constable Säl Per Olsson of Holen, and together they held meetings in the Baptist chapel and the villages. Pastor C. J. Thunman, who had been warned in a letter from one of the clergy in Falun, called a meeting of the church council on 31 March and forbade the "doctor" from acting as a spiritual speaker. Sheriff C. U. Säfvenström visited Blomberg's service the same day at 11:00 a.m. in the Baptist chapel and wrote about it to Crown Bailiff P. F. Kjellin:

I found the door open and a great crowd of people gathered. A very poorly dressed man stood at the head of the aisle and spoke. He was first confused but then continued his talk, which consisted only of godless babble. After he finished, he asked me to say a few words and I read the Crown proclamation about private religious services dated 26 October 1858. When Blomberg was questioned as to whether he knew of that proclamation, he answered in the negative.

Then the bailiff ordered those present to depart, which they did. In the afternoon the bailiff visited Blomberg, who was living at Säl Per Olssons, and read the church council minutes. Two days later, Säl Per Olsson drove the "doctor" south. "I do not believe," concluded the bailiff, "Blomberg will be back, and if he does so, he will not get old here."

Blomberg did not come back, especially since Pastor Thunman had notified the Uppsala Chapter Court, which in a letter to the Crown Commandant in Falun asked that charges be immediately brought. It was also determined that Blomberg and Säl Per Olsson had left and were on their way to America. Even Blomberg's brother, Peter, his sisters, and Peter's son had left for Pleasant Hill.

Next year, Säl Per Olsson returned to his home village and appeared as an eager recruiter for the colony at Pleasant Hill. He painted the situation there in the brightest of colors and assured everyone who listened to him that they would enjoy undiminished joy there for the rest of their lives. He was very successful, for in 1868-69 no less than sixty-three persons left, of which most joined the colony. The desire was so great in some that they fled their homes without permission.

A Bright Picture of Life in Pleasant Hill

The seventy-eight-year-old widow, Tenn Margaret Larsson from Näset, who as a fifteen-year-old followed her parents and siblings to Pleasant Hill, then returned to Älvdalen, writes about it to the author as follows:

On 8 October 1868 the following persons left Älvdalen for the colony Pleasant Hill in Kentucky: Marit Jansson, wife of Katrin Jannas of Klitten with her three sons; from Rot, Skogs Olof and his wife Katrin Marit and

five children, plus Håll Olof and Hård Per; from Näset, Anders Dalrot, Tenn Lars Larsson and wife Kerstin with five children, and Säl Olof Olsson with wife Anna and three children; from Öster Myckeläng, Gyrys Daniel and wife Karin with two children; from Åsen, Trapp Erik.

These people left at the advice of Säl Per Olsson, who had earlier been to America with Blomberg to see the colony. When the travelers came to Stockholm, they were joined by a Mrs. Lindgren with two children and an unmarried girl called Lam Karin, who was lame in her arms. The trip from Göteborg to Hull went without adventure, as did the rail trip to Liverpool. On the Atlantic there was a heavy storm and many thought they would sink. Finally, they arrived in New York and took a long rail trip to Nicholasville, Kentucky, and from there by horse and wagon to Pleasant Hill.

The place is situated, as its name indicates, on a beautiful height, with fine view in all directions. When the party approached, Blomberg came out with another of the elders, George, and rode with us, asking if we were well, after which they rode ahead, probably to tell of our arrival. When we got there, we were welcomed and treated to fine food in a great room. The colony consisted of five large farms—one called North Family, a West Family, a Center Family, a Church Family, and a West Lot. We were to live at West Lot, where there already were many Swedes who had come from Stockholm at the same time as Blomberg.

In Pleasant Hill it was quite nice, though it was winter when we were there. We saw no shortages on the farms and no one needed to work too hard. But according to Shaker beliefs, they should live as siblings, no one should own anything personally, and everything was owned in common. There were other colonies in the area from the same sect. One was called Lebanon.

Religious beliefs were in some ways like the Catholic. At least one saint existed, namely Ann Lee, who is said to be the founder of the sect. No sermons take place during services, but there is a choir that sang beautiful march songs, while they waved up and down with their hands, something like the Salvation Army does. Around the choir others marched in a ring dance. If there were many, they made several rings inside each other going in opposite directions. One of their songs says:

I will live before the Lord, I will die before the world,
 I will follow Jesus, And my blessed mother Ann.
 I will be like my Savior, I will be like my Mother,
 I will carry my cross, To the end of my life, Yes, yes I will.

The aged found it difficult to be comfortable under these very strange conditions. Tenn Lars Larsson with his family and Dalrot remained in the colony only through the winter, after which they went north.

Later, Gyrys Anders Andersson and his wife Anna Olsdotter and Knif Per Jansson and his wife Kerstin, all from Klitten, came. The first three soon left, but Knif Per's wife got along well and couldn't be convinced by her husband to leave the sect, as was the case with Skogs Olof's wife. Säl Olof Olsson died in Pleasant Hill and his wife remained there.

And a Darker Picture

Against those reports are others that paint a much darker picture. There were generally complaints about a difficult location. Married couples could never meet, not even in sickness or death. They couldn't read the Bible. Work was very hard and the colonists were treated almost like slaves. There were no days for rest, just daily services, and the foremen acted with great strictness. A murder attempt by drowning was even made by some persons against Blomberg, but he was saved.

Gyrys Anders

Gyrys Anders Andersson, one of Älvdalen's most talented fiddlers, who had traveled with the "Kings Casket," wrote sorrowful letters of complaint to his relatives in Sweden. Here are excerpts from one:

I regret nothing more than my journey here and I can only blame myself. Thus, my brothers at home, don't listen to Säl Olof's and Blomberg's voices, for they don't act as they speak. This sect is supported by only an empty, old ceremonial law, which seems wild. The law of love and truth they will not have here. And their so-called meetings, which are very hard on the conscience, are in reality wild, irrational, and animalistic.

If I were to show them the truth in any letter, they would throw it into the fire and not send it. Thus I say and add these lines out of their sight. For here, no one may say anything about not enjoying it here or think about leaving here, because he would be immediately taken for questioning by the elders, who can be many according to their needs, to quiet his thoughts of leaving. Many are bound to this place in that way.

It is said that Gyrys Anders was not permitted to play his violin in the colony, but that he usually took it out in the evenings to the smithy, where he worked, and played alone. Blomberg found out about it and went there to reproach him for his disobedience, but he was so taken by the music that he left him alone.

In September 1872 Gyrys Anders wrote that he, through some good people, had been freed from the "Egyptian slavery" and was in Chicago. After a time, he returned to his home village and he lived in Klitten until his death in 1909.

Emigrants Return to Sweden

Other natives of Älvdalen returned to their home area and among them there was great bitterness against Säl Per Olsson. Two unmarried brothers from Rot, Håll Olof and Per Olsson, committed breach of peace against him, seeking revenge. Säl Per Olsson did not dare file charges against them. It was believed generally that, upon his return from America, he had been bought by Blomberg to recruit followers by false claims and information. In more confidential situations, he could make statements that opposed those he made in public.

In Dalarna and Helsingland one can still hear an emigrant song of twenty-one verses, beginning with the words "We Sold Our Homes and Set Out...." Karl Erik Forsslund feels it was written about the Blomberg emigration. However, it is more likely that it refers to the Erik Janssonists. Anders Andersson has also written a "song of complaint" about his and others' experiences in Pleasant Hill:

You friends and relations in the cold North,
 Shall my tear-filled eyes never more see you, my folk?
 Oh, Lord, you speak for all things:
 For me and to Northern land and folk!
 Oh thou fresh winds of the North,
 Oh thou purple colors of the spring.
 Shall my eyes never more behold you,
 And my heart never smile again?
 I am like the turtledove that complains,
 Yet never again finds peace.
 You northern nightingale and birdsong,
 Near you, time has never been long,
 But here in the dark land is no comfort,
 And the heart's tone, like the dove's voice, cannot live,
 But God, who hears and sees lament,
 Shall yet again bring help.
 In Northern streams, clear as crystal, and fresh springs without number,
 You have often given strength and comfort.
 I cry aloud to you, my dear Father
 That You, oh God in Heaven,
 Will make me as the Prodigal son,
 Who you take home to his father's land
 And my sorrowing heart bring back to You.

Blomberg remained in Pleasant Hill until his death on 30 May 1880. Towards the end of his life, Blomberg became quite ill. Around ten days before his death, he was found lying nearly senseless in a field outside the colony and,

when they asked him if he was not afraid of the wandering hogs, answered that he would come to heaven whether or not the hogs ate him.

The Shaker colony there dissolved in 1910 and the entire sect is on the verge of disappearing. In all of America, there were not more than 192 members in 1926.

oOo

Editor's note: On 20 June 2001, while listening to a National Public Radio newscast on my way home from work, I learned that a member of the sole remaining Shaker community at Sabbath Lake, Maine, had died. An article in the *Lewiston Sun Journal*¹ summarized the consequences of this death for the community:

The Shakers, the tiny religious community perched above a lakeside pasture here, has lost a believer. Sister Marie Burgess, 81, died Monday. Sunday, she'll be remembered in a private memorial and buried in the communal cemetery beneath a common stone. It reads, simply, "the Shakers."

Burgess's death, the second for the community this year, drops the world population of Shakers to six. They're all right here, amid the cluster of austere farmhouses, barns and sheds that make up the last remaining Shaker Village. "It's a concern, of course," said Sister Frances Carr, the community's elders. "Worry is too strong, though." Carr believes the community is growing. People write the village every day, she said. They want to know about being a Shaker, how they live and what it takes. Someday the village will reach "a small balance," Carr said....

For additional information on the Shakers (formally known as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming) visit one of the following:

- <<http://www.shakervillageky.org/>>.

A website for the Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, the first (1972) historic site designated a National Historic Landmark. It is located twenty-five miles southwest of Lexington, KY, and seven miles east of Harrodsburg, KY, on U.S. 68.

- <<http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/grd/resguides/shaker.html>>.

A research guide to the literature on Shakers and Shakerism collected by the Research Libraries of the New York Public Library. Contents include Using the Catalogs, Basic Reference Volumes, General Works, Historical Studies, Spirituality, Comparative Studies of Shakerism with Other Religious Groups, and Researching Shakerism in Scholarly Periodicals.

¹ Daniel Hartill, "Second Death of Year Drops Number to Six," *Lewiston Sun Journal*, 19 June 2001.

With Älvdal People Among the Shakers in America[†]

Ewert Åhs

Translated by John E. Norton*

One of the most remarkable events of the great popular religious revival that swept across our parish in the mid-1800s was, doubtless, the large emigration to America. The precursors to that emigration were described recently in the fourth part of our parish history, but because of space limitations we can only cite the following:

Then, a spiritual disease with the character of pure humbug gripped many souls in the Älvdal valley. It was Shakerism, which came from America by way of the previous parish tailor from Mora, Anders Blomberg, born in Myggsjö, Orsa Finnmark. He had previously acted in Mora on behalf of another sect (editor's note: the Erik Janssonists), was committed to an insane asylum in Uppsala, and together with twenty-five followers from Mora emigrated to the (Janssonist) sect's paradise, Bishop Hill in America. When Bishop Hill got into trouble, Blomberg joined the Shakers and became representative of a Shaker colony in Pleasant Hill, Kentucky. To recruit labor for their farms, he went back to Sweden in 1866 and tried unsuccessfully to win proselytes. Finally, in the middle of March 1867, he came to Älvdalen, where he had greater success.

Breaking Up

According to Church emigration archives, no less than forty-eight persons emigrated in 1868, including Tenn Lars Larsson of Näset with his entire family of seven persons. In 1869 and 1871, twenty persons followed, and in the latter year they included master fiddler Gyris Anders Andersson from Klitten with his wife. Among the letters in his estate, generously put at *Skansvaktens*'s disposal by Mrs. Johanna Wik of Klitten, the daughter of Gyris's wife's sister, there were a number, mainly written by Gyris himself, telling of the emigrant's fate and adventures. Here is one to his father-in-law, describing the first part of their trip:

[†] Excerpts of letters and commentary prepared by Ewert Åhs, from *Skansvaktens, Älfdalens hembygdsförenings midsommartidning, Nr. 39, 1954*. Reprinted by permission of the editor of *Skansvaktens*.

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Göteborg, 8 July 1871

Dear parents, brothers, sisters, friends and relations remaining at home, God's peace be with you now and always! I will briefly in a few lines let you know that the Lord has successfully brought us to this place and we are in good health, and will only tell how quickly the trip has gone to date from Elfdalen 27 June, to Mora 28th, from Mora 29 June, to Falun the 30th, from Falun to Gefle 1 July, from Gefle the 2nd, aboard the steamer *Sten Sture*, delayed outside Öregrund by fog, to Stockholm 4 July, from Stockholm the same day on the steamer *Baltsar Platen*, passing Motala on the 5th and Vänersborg, Trollhättan, and Göteborg the 7th, and now this afternoon we are going aboard the great steamer *Skandinavia* to Scotland, the most direct route for us.

We send collective greetings to all of you, and ask that you share it with even Sar Lars L. S. and my mother M. D. D. and all others. The Lord be with you. Safe journey. When we arrive, I will write more. Anna sends greetings to her parents, so you might not be troubled about me, it is going well for us now that we are accustomed to the sea.

Olof Jonsson left us in Stockholm.

Across the Atlantic

The next letter was sent from the Shaker farm. As a keen observer, Gyris gives us a good description. The entire letter follows.

Pleasant Hill, 1 August 1871

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Elfdalen, We wish that the love and peace of the Lord be forever with and about you, from now to eternity. The distance between us has now become quite large, not less than about 1100 Swedish miles, but we hope that we are through the Spirit still near each other according to our experience, and now I wish to let you know by these few well-meant lines how our trip went here to America, which thank God has gone well. One could almost call it a vacation trip, especially for me, but not quite as expected there at home.

We arrived as mentioned in my last letter in Göteborg 1 July and after the 8th, were aboard one of the Ankar Line's great steamers, *Skandinavia*, which took us across the North Sea. After sailing three days, we landed in a city in Scotland named Lehts [Leith] on the 11th, and after two hours on the railroad we came to the city of Glasgow, arriving at 11:00 a.m., and on the afternoon of the 12th we boarded the great Atlantic steamer *Caledonia*, which was also from the Ankar Line. She took us out onto the great Atlantic Ocean, which is at most a distance of 900 Swedish miles over to New York from Glasgow. We thus left Europe's shores from Scotland and Glasgow. I

should note that the same day we left Scotland we headed for Ireland, where several more passengers boarded from a small steamer, heading for different places in America. Then we came out onto the ocean itself, meeting a headwind that remained with us.

Seasick

But I return to the end of my previous [letter], when that storm was over, and we had sailed a few more days until the 22nd, a heavy fog came up in the afternoon, so thick that we could hardly see from the one end of the ship to the other, and it continued at full speed, and many passengers were on deck, including me, and we knew nothing. Then there appeared an iceberg on our right, just a few fathoms from the ship, and in their hasty shock, both captain and seamen ran around not knowing what to do, since the ship was at full speed. Commands were immediately given to the pilot, who turned the rudder as quickly as possible to the left. At the same time the keel ran over a reef, lifting the ship, scraping and screaming as a result of its high speed. Fortunately, it did not spring a leak, for the hand of the Lord was over us, and it was the first piece of land in America, known as Newfoundland, which you can see on a map of North America, if you have one.

Railroad Trip

After a few more days, a harbor pilot came sailing out who would take us into New York, and on the 27th of this month we arrived there. Later that afternoon we took the railroad, which went over rivers and valleys and through tunnels and across great, fruitful fields.

We sailed through one city after the other, and from one fruitful area to another like a migrating bird, for never before had we seen or traveled at such high speed as now, both day and night. Finally, we came to a city named Cincinnati, and over a great river bridge, hung by thick iron cables hung between two stone towers on each side of the river, and then we went by wagon pulled by two horses through that city and over that great bridge to another city named Covington, since it was only the river that separated both cities; that was on 29 July. The same evening at 8:00 we were again on the railroad to a little city named Nicholasville on the morning of 30 July, and then by wagon with two horses to Pleasant Hill the same day, at which time all brothers and sisters received us with friendliness, and with a warm greeting wished us welcome.

And now I and all of us will simply say in closing that the Lord has brought us safely to this new home and our brothers and sisters give us living witness that they are a people of God with a happy home here, and we witness with our own eyes that it is true, insofar as we have yet seen.

Cheated

It apparently did not take long before the poor immigrants discovered they had been shamefully cheated by Blomberg who, according to a preserved song fragment, had promised them earthly advantages in great measure—"a beggar in his hut shall be rich as a king...."

As early as 10 September, Gyris Anders wrote to a relative who had emigrated earlier, asking about possibilities to buy land and get help to cover travel and other costs. The answer came on 23 September and Gyris and his friends, according to that letter, are given a tongue-lashing for their actions. The letter, signed Göran Persson and sent from Maple Ridge, Minnesota, includes the following: "...I see that you have come to America and Pleasant Hill and are very dissatisfied, which is not strange, for I have many times wondered how a person with any sense and the Bible before them can in any way give support to that religion."

It continues by saying that "land is available for purchase on eight years' credit," that "no stones hinder breaking the soil," and that "there is more than enough forest." There is a detailed description of everything that grows there, of a great river, the "Rom [Rum] River, which empties into the Mississippi at the city of Anoka," of good freshwater springs, and of everything else a farmer needs. However, no economic help is available, and Gyris has to stay where he is.

Censorship

In his next letter, we find a completely different tone than the fresh, optimistic one about the trip itself. The lure of adventure is gone and their eyes have been opened to the difficult situation in which they found themselves. That they are not saying how things are in reality is certainly because all letters were censored, and only those in which the sect and life on the farm were praised were released by Blomberg.

Letters had come from their home at Klitten and Gyris answers in his of 28 October: "Yes, we couldn't read without tears your letters, since you and our childhood home are always in our thoughts and minds" and "...our childhood home, friends and relatives always sway around us." He greets a long list of relatives and friends by name and talks about his work: "...I help make brooms and even kitchen tools sometimes in lead and porcelain and sometimes paint. In other words, everyone has to do much every day, and Anna is in the kitchen now, doing her monthly shift." Here it should be mentioned that all work was done by members of the sect, that the colony consisted of five farms, and that Gyris lived in one named "West lot."

In his letter he also mentions that "...Knif Per Jansson has left here because he didn't like it and went north." As we shall see in the following, most of the

colonists fled, including even Gyrus and his wife. "I am in such poor health..." he writes despondently.

The unfamiliar climate was also a problem, and in a letter of 23 November he writes from the "West Lot and Pleasant Hill" mentioning that "...it would be difficult for us to adjust to this climate and even change old habits, in other words, acting against one's own will." As for the weather, he says "...the temperature itself is very oppressing, so when it is warm one feels very burdened and out of breath." The letter, which because of censorship is kept to generalities, closes as usual with greetings to all those in their home area who are now seen as being so far away and unreachable.

Clear Text

But Gyrus succeeds in smuggling out at least one letter and there he speaks his piece about the reality of the society in which they found themselves. That the letter did not get sent the usual way is shown by a few lines at its close, where he says: "If I were to show the truth in any letter, it would be tossed into the fire and not be sent, thus I am adding these lines out of their sight." The letter, with no place or date, begins as follows: "Be wary of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing but who are gaping wolves. You should know them by their fruits, which I have witnessed myself every day since I came here. Thus my friends at home, do not listen to Majt Lars or Blomberg's voice, for they do not act as they speak. Majt Lars writes that he has been raised to the third Heaven, and uses only lies and falsehoods and cunning..."

In several of the letters, the sect's "services" are described, with their strange ring dances. Gyrus writes: "...their so-called meetings are offensive to the conscience, they are in reality wild, unreasonable, and animalistic. Oh, what idiocy..."

The Agitator

The above-mentioned Majt Lars appears to have been a devoted follower of the sect's teachings, according to the preserved letters, and that he in every way tried to encourage people to travel to America. He had already much earlier come into conflict with the powers of justice in his home region. He was from Klitten and emigrated as early as 1864, after having sold all he owned at auction. In 1853 he had been involved in the well-known trials against the Baptists.

He, by his agitation for the Shaker colony, certainly played a much larger role than the frequently-mentioned Säl Per Olsson from Holen, who himself had spent some time in America and later acted as an "apostle" of the sect in his home area. He, as many others, seems to have become the victim of Blomberg's efforts and beautiful promises, but finally completely deserted the sect.

All work in the colony was divided, as mentioned, into shifts, and it is said in one place that they were to live a life of siblings, no one should own anything

privately, but all was communal. Apparently the income earned by men working outside the colony also belonged to the sect, and that such work existed is seen in several letters. For example: "Skogs Olle has again come here today. He had been with Daniel (a brother of Gyris Anders, who with his family had emigrated in 1868) working on the railroad near Lexington a few weeks, but Daniel continued on to a mill further north a few miles from Lexington."

The great difficulties our friends had to deal with even as relates to getting work is witnessed in the same letter: "...Olof says that here in the South it is impossible to earn any money, since they don't value workers highly, because it is so full of Negroes who are willing to take a small daily wage as long as they can live on it."

The Breakout

As soon as an opportunity showed itself, most of the colonists left the farm and tried an independent life, and many landed in Chicago. From the letters it appears that even Gyris and his wife intended, as quickly as possible, to get out, and it was Anna, who with the help of Skogs Olof, [-----?], and Sar Olof Larsson from Rot, who with his family of fully eight persons had come to Pleasant Hill as early as 1868, got out after much difficulty. How that happened is described in her letter to her father, Knif Olof Olsson from Klitten. She writes: "Skogs Olof planned to take little Olle with but couldn't, because the Shakers planned to bind and betray him, but they couldn't, then I went along in haste. I was out picking berries during the day and when I came home I found that I could go along. I packed my things after eating supper but I didn't say I was going, because then they would have made noise (complained) and made it impossible, and in the morning we left..."

She finally arrived in Chicago, at the [home of] previously mentioned Tenn Lars from Näset, who had in 1868 come to the Shaker colony with his family of seven. He had already left the colony for Chicago when Gyris Anders and his party arrived and experienced the great Chicago fire in 1871. He came to play a great role as advisor and helper to the poor emigrants, as we shall see from the following. Without his help, Gyris Anders and his dear wife Anna would never have been able to travel back to their dear Älvdalen.

Their great gratitude for his help is seen in several letters, like this (from Anna): "...and now I must tell you that I am much better [and] in a crew with Tenn Margit (a daughter of Tenn Lars) in a sewing shop. There are certainly many there, but no Swedes beyond the both of us, so it is good that I am teamed with her. And I must say that they have been good to me, all of Tenn Lars' people, father, mother and girls and their son-in-law, since I came here from the Shakers, demoralized and not knowing what to do in this foreign land, for one finds their true friends in need and I have not found anyone in America who has been so good to me and all of us as they have been and are..."

Farewell Letter

Now that we've seen how Anna fell into good hands, we shall see how Gyris himself managed the trip from Pleasant Hill. We do this with help of the oral tradition in his family and by letters. It appears that he traveled with his brother Daniel, who with his wife and two daughters came to America in 1868. The trip was made largely on foot and it is said that Gyris, in order not to starve, went in to farmhouses he passed, pointed to his mouth as a sign he was hungry and wanted food and played a tune on his dear fiddle as payment. Once, they were cheated out of money intended for the trip and suffered many difficulties. When the situation seemed most hopeless, Gyris wrote a moving farewell letter to his wife, who he thought he would never again see. That remarkable letter is as follows:

Cincinnati, 19 July 1872

My longed-for wife and dearest friend in the world! The Lord's peace and love upon you! Oh, that He comforted the sorrowing heart! With tears and a despairing spirit I will again write some lines to you, my beloved friend Anna, and let you know our sad circumstances. And it may be the last time I speak and write to you, for I can no longer bear my heartrending sorrow and despair, since I see that I have not only pulled myself down into this greatest of misery I have ever experienced on earth but even pulled you down into the same damnation, you who have always been my most faithful, dearest, and most trustworthy friend in this world. But what shall I do more than simply ask your forgiveness, if I were such to hope. God only knows I have until now held the blessed hope that we should again meet and hold each other's hand, but now it appears that we may not be able to do that, since our situation makes it completely impossible, as I will say on the next page.

We came to the city on 14 August, and, since we didn't have sufficient money for tickets, we were stuck. We had thought when we left Pleasant Hill that we could get some money for a telescope that a Norwegian had given me, or if that didn't work, borrow \$5.00 on a trunk, for Daniel had \$15.00 and I sold both the watches for \$12.00 in the West Lot to two Negroes. But since we got no money in Lexington for either the telescope or by borrowing, these Norwegians said we could travel offering our things as security, since we had many such from Cincinnati to Chicago. One of them, who was a boy just arrived in Lexington, said he could travel on his security and the same boy wrote a note in English that we should present here at the station, so we wouldn't have to say anything. But when we got here, they would no longer give tickets in return for our things. We offered them the money we had, \$15.00, and even Daniel's watch, but to no avail.

What should we now do, with no [command of the English] language to get along with and no Swedish people here. Oh, what misery and despair!

Then we hit upon the thought of writing to T. Larson in Chicago and bow before his heart, asking that he help us out of here with either two tickets or enough money to buy them here, and we thought he'd know the price better than we. We left the letter at the post office here in the city on the 15th, and at the same time left the letter Trapp Olof and I had written in West Lot and even a letter I had gotten from Sweden. And in this letter I send to you, my dearest friend and wife, a letter from Julia, which I took along, thinking we would come directly to you, but such has not been the case. And now we have our things at the station and how long they'll remain there before being thrown out we don't know, and as for ourselves, we've spent the time here in the open, under a tree just outside the city. We've had the same quarters here under this tree four days and nights, and tonight will be the fifth, with our occupation being worried and distraught over our situation.

And now today we have been in town to the Post Office asking for a letter or any answer from Tenn Lars in Chicago, but there is none. And tomorrow we will immediately go from here to see if there is any answer, for we can't stay here any longer and starve, but will be forced to leave, alive or dead, and the latter cannot happen unless we starve to death. If our Father's will be done, we shall see if we will again meet in this life, but if you hear nothing more of us you know and understand that we are no longer on this earth. And we ask T. Larsson and all of you that you see that our things come to Chicago. Collect them, for we plan to send them in some way to you, so that some of our families will get some use of them. Even if they won't send them unpaid, we'll see if we have enough money to pay the freight for them; we don't know how much it will be. Enough for now and perhaps forever, but first and last, to you my heart's dearest friend and wife, I bid you a fond farewell, and God willing it will not be the last time. Gyris.
A. A. S. D. A. S.

And on a pair of smaller papers in the same letter

...never had I imagined that I said farewell to you for the last time, my dear Anna, when I followed O. L. S. and you to the North Family in Pleasant Hill. I would have never believed that it would be the last time I held your hand and said farewell; oh, if I had known it, I would never have let you go, but now it is too late! But it would be my life's greatest joy if I were to meet you once more. We shall see what the Lord does.

Farewell...if it is so that our things come to Chicago, take care of them; you will certainly recognize them. There are two larger trunks and a little one and a sack. We plan to leave here tomorrow and head north, if possible, to Chicago, but it is unsure if we will ever arrive, since it is so far and we

have no way of eating en route. Farewell my dear, beloved friend and wife. It looks like there will be no help for us in Heaven or on earth.

And this letter I write to you, my dearest friend, with the hope you and yours will know our sad situation and our end, in case we never again meet. Nor can we ask [for an] answer from you, since we don't know what lies ahead, for we plan to stay here tonight under this tree, awaiting an answer from you in the morning before we go. And now we are forced to leave the city this 21st day of the month and set out on foot, unsure of our fate and if God gave peace to your heart, that you were not devoured by sorrow and despair, you who are not to blame for this unhappy journey, for you had never wanted to come to America. But I cannot call back that which has been done and cannot help it, but just be content with a heart-rending sorrow, which is eating away my life. Yes! I can do no more for you my beloved friend than place you in God's loving heart. Farewell my only heart and beloved friend. A. A. S.

Reunited

On 8 September, however, we find Gyris in Chicago, joyfully reunited with his wife, and he writes: "...Dearly Beloved at Home in the Valleys of the North, the Peace of the Lord be with You." His unabashed joy can't be missed: "...We succeeded through good people in getting out of the Egyptian slavery, and our hearts are glad that we finally got out of the claws of the Shakers, but America is America..."

In the letter it appears that Anna left the colony on 17 July and both men on 13 August. But the difficulties were not over just because they had gotten out of "the claws of the Shakers." They had to find a place to live and work and it was Tenn Lars who saved the situation.

Gyris writes: "... not just that we deserve it, but we live for today. There are so many peoples from all nations streaming in that there isn't much work here, for both Anna and I have already been so burned by America that our entire goal is to save enough to get back to Sweden."

Anna eared \$3.00 per week in her factory work and Gyris, through Tenn Lars, got work making baskets for fruit farmers. He earned enough for room and board for himself and his wife at Tenn Lars's, and from his wife's earnings, dollar could be added to dollar for the dreamed-of trip home. "Yes, if God meets our desires, we believe we shall see and meet you next summer, if God wills. If I come to Sweden one more time I have no one else to thank than God and Tenn Lars..."

Homesick

Their homeland returns often in their letters, their longing for home, friends and relatives, and their own place. They are prepared to suffer the fall storms on

the Atlantic and in the last preserved letter they say: "...we're going to take our trip home in the fall, since tickets are sold somewhat cheaper than during the summer."

While it might go well for Gyris and his wife, it could be worse for the large families. It could be so difficult that people had to send their children out to beg for food and Gyris Daniel writes: "...Anna and Anders have been out begging some times this winter, and have been out 3 to 4 hours sometimes, and have gotten as much food as they could carry, sometimes almost a clothesbasket full when they come home. So, as far as bread goes, it is at least easier to get here than in Elfdalen."

Back Home in Älvdalen Again!

There is not much more to add. On 31 August 1874 we find Gyris Anders and his wife back in the parish record immigration book, and it is said that, after his return, Gyris went from farm to farm in Klitten with his fiddle and played for joy at being home again. Not many of these emigrants returned to their homes. Some ended their days in the colony in Kentucky, others got themselves a farm of their own, and the youth went out into the workplaces of that mighty land. Gyris kept contact, even after returning home, with his friends out there, but it would take us too far afield to go into that letter exchange. Between Gyris and Tenn Lars, both of whom returned to their home place the same year, a warm friendship arose, cemented by their common experiences and suffering. The Tenn Lars we remember, son of the daughter of Gyris' helper in America, often told how special it was when Gyris came to the village and both the old men talked about their remarkable journey to America.

The very interesting and rich material represented by this letter collection has been given only a summary treatment here. When one reads these letters, written in a foreign land by unhappy and unsuccessful men, one asks "What was it that drove them to leave home and family, farm and community, and set out on that long journey towards a fate about which they knew nothing with certainty?" Was it the need of a richer spiritual life, which they thought they would find in the new land, or was it the thought of avoiding need and hunger that drove them out? Certainly, Blomberg understood in his propaganda how to use the emergency conditions which arose in Älvdalen after the hard years of starvation and need during the 1860s and especially the difficult year of 1867, the last great "bark bread year," since the great migration took place the following year. Perhaps one approaches closest to the truth if one lets both factors become part of their reasoning.

Swedish Generals and Colonels in Gray 1861-1865^o

Bertil Häggman* and Lars Gjertveit†

Preface

At the outbreak of the American Civil War, the U.S. census of 1860 reported 750 Swedes living in what would be the Confederate States of America. Perhaps not more than fifty joined the Confederate army and navy. The full story of all these Swedes in gray remains to be written.

This modest booklet is an attempt to introduce higher officers of Swedish origin who were in the Confederate army. Of the two generals, one (Brigadier General Charles G. Dahlgren) was commissioned by the Governor of Mississippi; the other (Brigadier General Roger W. Hanson), by a Richmond commission.

It is the hope of the authors that this little booklet will encourage further research, both in Scandinavia and the United States, into the military careers of these officers and contribute to the celebration this year [1996] in Sweden and the United States of the start of Swedish mass immigration to America in 1846.

Brigadier General *Roger Weightman "Old Flintlock" Hanson* (1827-1863)

Roger Weightman Hanson was born in Winchester, Clarke County, Kentucky, on 27 August 1827, the son of Samuel, a lawyer, and Mathilda Hanson. He was a descendant of the Swedish Maryland Hansons.

An ancestor of General Hanson, Johan Hansson, was killed at the Battle of Lützen, Germany, in 1632, during the Thirty Years' War. Swedish King

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Gustavus II Adolphus fell in the same battle, a great setback to the Protestant cause. The grandfather, who also went by the name of Johan Hansson, came to the New Sweden colony in Delaware in 1643, settling in Maryland in 1653.¹

Roger W. Hanson gained military experience during the Mexican War 1846-1848. At the age of twenty he served in the 4th Kentucky Volunteers as a first lieutenant of Captain John S. "Cerro Gordo" Williams's company. In a duel shortly after his return from Mexico, Hanson was shot in the right hip and crippled for life. He subsequently studied law and was admitted to the bar, but left with a company of gold-seekers bound for California. Early in 1850 he returned home and took up his law practice in Winchester. He was twice elected to the Kentucky legislature (1853 and 1855) and had a statewide reputation as a skilled criminal lawyer.

Hanson started out as a Union man but changed his view and in 1860 joined the pro-southern Kentucky State Guard as a colonel. On 3 September 1861 he received a Confederate commission as colonel of the 2nd Kentucky Infantry Regiment. Hanson's regiment formed the nucleus of Kentucky's famed "Orphan Brigade" (2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 9th Kentucky). He was captured at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, on 16 February 1862 and imprisoned for several months in Fort Delaware, Maryland. Released after a prisoner exchange in the fall, Colonel Hanson and his men reinforced Brigadier General John H. Morgan in the expedition against Hartsville, Tennessee, on 7 December 1862.

"Old Flintlock," as he was affectionately called, won promotion to brigadier general on 13 December 1862, and assumed command of the Orphan Brigade. Three weeks later, the general fell mortally wounded leading his Kentuckians in a desperate assault on the Federal left at the Battle of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, on 2 January 1863. He died two days later. First buried in Nashville, Tennessee, he was reinterred in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1866 with full military honors. Kentucky soldiers of all arms paid him his last honors before the remains were taken under escort to Lexington. The funeral oration was given by Elder Joseph Desha Pickett, first chaplain of the 2nd Kentucky.

In 1893 it was decided at the annual reunion of the Orphan Brigade to erect a monument to Hanson and his wife, who had died in 1888. The monument now stands at the resting place of the couple with the following words inscribed:

The surviving members of the Orphan Brigade erect this stone in memory of their commander and his devoted wife. Let this monument witness now, and to coming generations, our knowledge of his worth, our sense of his valor, our pride in his patriotism, and our profound conviction that he fell in the defense of a righteous cause.

¹ *Editor's note:* This presumed ancestry is somewhat controversial. Cf. Elisabeth Thorsell, "Was the First President of the United States a Swede?," *Swedish American Genealogist* XXI (June 2001): 89-92.

Historian Edison H. Thomas has described John H. Morgan's reunion with Hanson in October 1861. Morgan had then left Lexington to join Major General Simon B. Buckner's command at Bowling Green:

When Morgan reached Green River on September 30, some 200 men had attached themselves to his unofficial command. Actually, it was a rather motley looking group by the time it reached the Confederate camp near Woodsonville in Hart County. For Morgan, however, the arrival was something of a homecoming. His uncle, Colonel Thomas Hunt, was there in command of two companies, and so was Morgan's old friend, Colonel Roger Hanson. A homely little figure with a rather peculiar stance, Colonel Hanson did not look much like a military man, nevertheless, he had the complete respect of his 600-man infantry regiment. Morgan and Hanson had served together during the Mexican War, and at Woodsonville in the days that followed they set out to shape their groups into some semblance of a military organization.²

Ed Porter Thompson, veteran and historian of the Orphan Brigade, characterized General Hanson in the following way:

In person, Gen. Hanson was robust, and his constitution was sound, vigorous, and capable of great endurance. He had one of those acute, yet comprehensive intellects, which see a field of business, the circle of the sciences, the world of philosophy....Hanson saw every point of any thing to which he turned his attention, whole looking at the whole result. He had, almost to perfection, that rare power of individualizing, which fitted him for the details of a business, as well as for grasping it in its general import—the power of analyzing, as well as for comprehending, aggregations. "Horse sense" he is said to have called it, humorously; but, by this term, men mean a rough talent, and his was not "horse sense." Great powers of observation, of perception, which furnish food to the mind in the shape of isolated facts, combined with that large reason which enables a man to digest, to comprehend these facts and their relative value, constitute genius—the highest order of mind—the power to see and understand, to adapt, to apply, to read men, to divine the tendency of events, which few men possess. Earnest, energetic, with an indomitable will, a large ambition, and invincible courage, the motive force, the "power behind the throne" of this great intellect, was not wanting, and the capability of achievement was only bounded by the limits of possibility.

That these characteristics of mind gave him capacity for a great commander, no man who knew him, who saw his conduct in the administration and execution of military affairs, will doubt for a moment.

² Edison H. Thomas, *John Hunt Morgan and his Raiders* (Lexington, KY, 1985), 17-18.

Whether a colonel or brigadier, he was ever active, ever watchful—bending the circumstances to his will—marking the impress of his own character on everything he touched.³

Brigadier General
Charles Gustavus Dahlgren
(1811-1888)

The first head of the Dahlgren family was Börje Ersson, who owned a farm named Dahlby in the Swedish province of Östergötland. In 1615 he took the name Dahlgren.⁴ His son, Charles Gustavus's grandfather, Bernard Ebbe Dahlgren, was born in 1744 in the city of Norrköping in Östergötland. He studied chemistry and pharmacy at the University of Uppsala and was a protégé of the world famous naturalist, Carolus Linnaeus, graduating with a degree in medicine. In 1789 he became chief physician in Finland, then a part of the Swedish realm. His son, Bernard Ulric, was born in 1784. Bernard Ulric was also educated at the University of Uppsala but, unlike his father, he rebelled against the Swedish monarchy. In 1804 he was caught distributing pamphlets advocating republican principles. His property was confiscated by the crown and Charles Gustavus's father was forced to flee the country. In the winter of 1806-1807, he arrived in the United States, settling in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Bernard Ulric married Martha Rowan in 1808, a daughter of James Rowan, who served in the Revolutionary War. The Rowan family originally came from Ireland and its members were among Pennsylvania's oldest settlers. Bernard Dahlgren's motto was "Candor and Fidelity" and the Dahlgrens lived on the fringe of Pennsylvania's socioeconomic elite.⁵ A prosperous merchant, Bernard Ulric was later appointed Swedish-Norwegian Consul in Philadelphia. Charles Dahlgren's stepdaughter, Sarah Ann Ellis Dorsey, was a prominent nineteenth century novelist. His brother, John Adolphus Dahlgren, was a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy.

Charles Gustavus Dahlgren, born in Philadelphia on 13 August 1811, started his career in the Navy, but soon went into banking while still a young man, a protégé of Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank of the United States. The future general later became manager of the Natchez (Mississippi) Branch of the Bank of the United States. He bought plantations in Louisiana and Mississippi and operated a supply house. His first wife, Mary M. Routh, inherited considerable wealth at the death of her father, Job Routh. By 1860 he had accumulated a huge fortune through cotton harvesting. A big, burly man of

³ Ed Porter Thompson, *History of the Orphan Brigade* (Dayton, OH, 1898): 377-378.

⁴ Article in the journal *Svensk Samling*; Robert J. Schneller, Jr., *A Quest for Glory: A Biography of Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren* (Annapolis, MD, 1996).

⁵ *Ibid.*

strong temper, he fought many duels and is said to have left quite a number of dead enemies behind and had himself a large collection of dueling scars.

Following Mississippi's secession, Governor John J. Pettus commissioned Charles Gustavus Dahlgren brigadier general of state troops on 8 July 1861. From his own resources, he equipped the Third Brigade of Mississippi Volunteers (3rd and 7th Mississippi Infantry Regiments). He was placed in charge of southwest Mississippi. Headquartered in Pass Christian, his brigade helped guard the Mississippi coast against Union invasion. Local leaders are said to have been against him. By November, over Dahlgren's vehement objections, his troops were transferred to the Confederate army and President Davis placed Major General Mansfield Lovell over him. In January 1862 the governor appointed Dahlgren commissioner to oversee the construction of gunboats. Later in 1862 he was given command of the post at Fayette, Mississippi.

The general had a low opinion of President Jefferson Davis and was very critical of his conduct of the war. His lack of respect hit a low when Fort Donelson fell in February 1862. On 23 March 1862, he published his own detailed plans for the defense of the South in the newspaper the *Daily True Delta*, after sending them to Davis and receiving no answer from the president. As a rebuff to Davis, Dahlgren resigned his command on 15 July 1862. He saw no more active service and remained on "detached" duty for the remainder of the war.

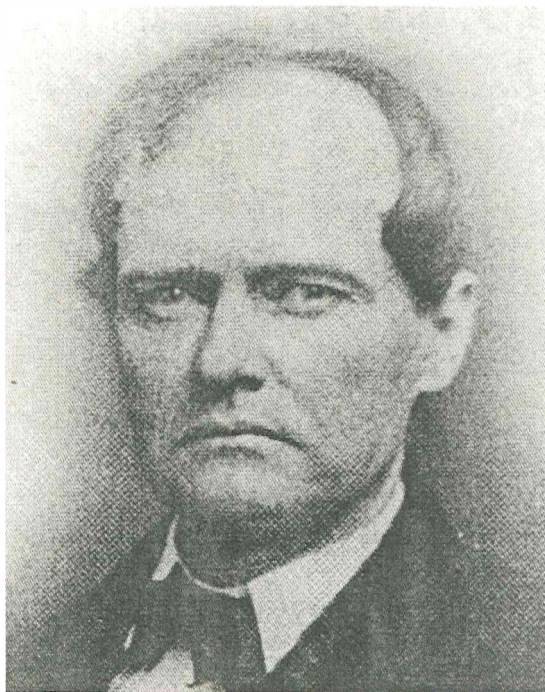
It is ironic that his last home (Beauvoir, near Biloxi) was later willed by his estranged stepdaughter to Jefferson Davis, when she died in 1879. The Dahlgren family went to court against Davis and newspapers both North and South reported the affair. One journalist gave this description of General Dahlgren in one of the articles:

He is tall and grey, and although now nearly 70 years of age, possesses a powerful frame, a steady step and a clear eye. Perhaps no man in New York is more rich in reminiscence....General Dahlgren has a deep, long scar on both sides of his left hand, where in fighting a duel with bowie knives, he clasped the keen edge of his antagonist's weapon to prevent a thrust into his bowels, and held it so hard that the blade cut through his hand and severed his little finger. He carries two pistol balls, received in duels, in his body, one lodging against his ribs. Two other balls, fired to kill him, have been removed by surgeons. On top of his head, toward the left side, beneath the scalp, is the broken tip of a bowie knife, which is fastened into the skull bone, and was left there in a desperate duel.⁶

⁶ *Philadelphia Press*, 1 August 1879. Copy in Geisenberger Papers, Armstrong Library, Natchez, MS.

The feud between the Dahlgrens and President Jefferson Davis, carried on by Austin Mortimer Dahlgren (the general's son), lasted from 1862 to 1906. During 1877 and 1878, Mortimer wrote several letters about the ex-president while in residence on the Gulf Coast as guest of Mrs. Dorsey. The following is a short quote from one of his letters:

Our guests on this occasion [Christmas Day, 1877] were President Davis, Genl. Jubal A. Early, and Genl. J. R. Davis. Christmas night we gave a grand reception in honor of Genl. Early. All the distinguished persons in this section of the country were present with their wives and fair daughters. The whole yard was lit up with reflections, while the house was a blaze of light. Cheerful pine fires burned on every hearth, while hundreds of wax candles from the grand old chandeliers poured a flood of variegated light upon the happy throng of gallant gentlemen and beautiful women, only to be reflected back by sparkling eyes and brilliant gems upon the necks and fingers of their fair owners.⁷



Charles G. Dahlgren

⁷ Quoted in Herschel Gower, "The Dahlgrens and Jefferson Davis," *Journal of Mississippi History* (August 1993): 179-201.

Charles Gustavus Dahlgren's fortunes were wiped out during the war and he moved with his family to Brooklyn, New York, to practice law. After his death on 18 December 1888, services were held in Brooklyn and the body was later shipped to Natchez where he was buried in a plot next to his first wife. The grave, in the Natchez City Cemetery, lay forgotten until it was marked with a marble slab on 18 January 1992 at the instigation of Professor Herschel Gower and the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Dahlgren had three sons in Confederate service. Charles Routh served with the cavalry in Virginia; Bernard Dahlgren was in the Mississippi home guard; and John Adolph Dahlgren, barely fourteen years old, was at Vicksburg.

Colonel
Ludwig August Forsberg
(1832-1910)

Ludwig August Forsberg was born in Stockholm, Sweden, on 13 January 1832. He was the nephew of War Councilor Carl David Forsberg and was educated at the Technological Institute in the Swedish capital. At age twenty-two, he was a second lieutenant in the Swedish Army Engineer Corps. He immigrated to the United States in 1855 and settled in Columbia, South Carolina. A few years before the American Civil War he came to Washington D.C. to work on the Capitol, then under renovation. He was head engineer but was removed due to intrigue.

When the South seceded, Forsberg sailed in a fishing boat to Charleston, South Carolina, and arrived during the bombardment of Fort Sumter. He volunteered and served first as topographical engineer in Charleston harbor. In August 1861, he joined the 51st Virginia Infantry Regiment being assembled in Wytheville, Virginia. Forsberg's reflections on his situation, when he saw departing comrades saying goodbye to their wives and relatives that year, have been preserved and merit reproduction here:

Fathers, mothers, wives, and friends had gathered around the depot to cry over their loved ones and bid them a last adieu. The scene was distressing indeed. I felt more than ever a stranger in a strange land. There was no one to cry over me, no one to wish me good speed and a safe return.⁸

Forsberg received an appointment as lieutenant of infantry on 11 October 1861. He led a detail of engineers in the 51st Virginia and served attached to the staff of Brigadier General John B. Floyd. Between August 1861 and May 1862, he took part in the battles of Carnifax Ferry, West Virginia, 11 September 1861; Fort Donelson, Tennessee, 12-16 February 1862; and Princeton, West Virginia,

⁸ From the archive of Bertil Häggman.

17 May 1862. Lieutenant Forsberg was cited for bravery at Fort Donelson and generally admired for his devotion to the Confederacy.



Ludwig August Forsberg

Forsberg's leadership and valor were also widely recognized. On 26 May 1862 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 51st Virginia and to colonel of the same regiment from 8 July 1863. During this period, Forsberg fought in the battles of the Kanawha Valley Campaign in West Virginia from 6-16 September 1862. After this followed a year of hard marching, but little action, in southwestern Virginia and eastern Tennessee. Forsberg was absent (sick at New Market) in May 1864 but returned to command the 51st Virginia near Cold Harbor (27 May-4 June 1864), when the regiment served briefly with the Army of Northern Virginia, and fought again at Lynchburg, Virginia, on 17 June 1864.

In July 1864, Colonel Forsberg succeeded Brigadier General Gabriel C. Wharton as commander of what became known as "Forsberg's Brigade" (45th, 50th, 51st Virginia Infantry, and 30th Battalion, Virginia Sharpshooters). The brigade distinguished itself in many hard-fought battles of Early's raid on Washington and the subsequent Shenandoah Valley Campaign—Frederick (7-8 July 1864), Monocacy (9 July 1864), Fort Stevens (11 July 1864), Kernstown (24 July 1864), Leetown (25 August 1864), and Third Winchester (19 September 1864). At the Battle of Winchester, Colonel Forsberg was shot in the hand while trying to rally his men. Recuperating in Lynchburg, he reassumed command of his brigade in late February 1865. He led the brigade in the disastrous Battle of Waynesboro, Virginia, on 2 March 1865, where Forsberg was captured along with most of his command.

Imprisoned at Fort Delaware, he was finally released on 24 July 1865. He settled in Lynchburg, Virginia, where he married Miss Mollie Otey who, as a nurse, had tended him after he was seriously wounded in the Battle of Winchester. He served as city engineer of Lynchburg for twenty-one years, designing and directing the construction of many of the city's public buildings. Colonel Ludwig August Forsberg died in Lynchburg on 15 July 1910 and is buried in the Presbyterian Cemetery. One of his friends spoke at his grave: "Here lies this generous stranger who watered with his precious blood the tree of liberty."

Lieutenant Colonel
Carl Jacob Hammarskjöld
(1833-1884)

The Hammarskjöld family is one of the foremost noble families in Sweden. Its history can be traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was distantly related to this Confederate lieutenant colonel.

Carl Jacob Hammarskjöld was born on Skultuna Estate on 3 June 1833, son of the cavalry captain Carl Wilhelm Hammarskjöld, who was director of Skultuna ironworks in the province of Västmanland. Carl Jacob was educated in Uppsala. In 1849 his father had to leave Sweden due to financial problems. He immigrated with his family to Cooperville, South Carolina, where he managed a small ironworks for Scottish owners. He had brought Swedish workers over the Atlantic, but after a labor dispute with the employees, the Hammarskjöld family was forced to leave Cooperville. The father moved to another small ironworks in Spring Hill, North Carolina, of which he became owner. Carl Jacob (Charles John) helped his father at the ironworks, served as postmaster of Spring Hill, and ran a trading company.

Upon the death of his father in 1860, Carl Jacob sold the ironworks and moved with his family to Charlotte, close to the South Carolina border. That year in August he wrote: "Here are a lot of troubles this year and it cannot end

well—I believe the Union is too large and it must soon fall.” The states “must soon be separated.”⁹

Two weeks after the firing on Fort Sumter, North Carolina took steps to organize a military force. Carl Jacob Hammarskjöld was among the first to respond to the governor’s call. In May 1861, while engaged in organizing troops for the state, he wrote to his uncle in Sweden:

I have now left all that is dear to me on this earth to participate in a war that will decide the fate of the wonderful South, with the full, firm, and well-considered decision that either we will win or fall in the defense of our country---Two weeks ago I received orders from our Governor Ellis to report for active duty - of course it was heavy to so suddenly leave my dear family back home and take the first train from my dear home. Since then I have been in service with the governor, where I and three other men run the office and are fully occupied with writing, training, mustering, reviews, etc., etc. My life, this new life, is really good, especially as the governor and his family treat us very well---Uncle may wonder what the reason is for this war in a land that for so long has enjoyed the pleasures of peace, did not have an army, and was not prepared for war? Yes! Three weeks ago Lincoln, that useless president, attacked a fort in Charleston against a given promise; his troops were beaten back, his fort capitulated---North Carolina was then under his power and he asked our governor for 2,000 men, which was promptly denied. Our sympathies were already with the Southern Confederation and to fight against it was impossible---He [Lincoln] promises his troops, that if they can invade the South and subjugate us “our women and our land will be theirs to rape and plunder”---How different this is to garrison life in Stockholm. The life there often seemed ridiculous, only play and extravagance. Here we are daily waiting for orders to fight, quite a different feeling.¹⁰

Desiring active service, Hammarskjöld received an appointment as first lieutenant of Company E, 34th North Carolina Infantry Regiment, on 25 October 1861, a regiment initially commanded by another foreign-born, Colonel Collett Leventhorpe of England. The first assignment of the 34th North Carolina was to guard the port of Wilmington. While there, resignations and transfers caused vacancies among the field officers. Carl Jacob Hammarskjöld received promotion to major on 2 April 1862 and two weeks later rose to lieutenant colonel (17 April). In June 1862, after eight months of garrison duty, the 34th North Carolina was sent to the front outside of Richmond, Virginia. Here they formed part of the famous “Light Division” (under Major General A. P. Hill) of

⁹ Nina Hammarskjöld, *Ätten Hammarskjöld: personhistoria och tidsbilder från tre hundra år berättade för släkten*. Stockholm, Sweden, 1915, 531. Translated into English by Bertil Häggman.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

Stonewall Jackson's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. In the course of five days, Lieutenant Colonel Hammarskjöld led his men in three bloody battles at Mechanicsville (26 June), Gaines' Mill (27 June), and Frayser's Farm (30 June). However, his career was cut short by an eye injury. After helping to save the Confederate capital on 12 July 1862, he was forced to resign on account of "nearsightedness & weak eyes."



Carl Jacob Hammarskjöld

Half a year later, on 9 November 1862, Hammarskjöld sends home another letter, dated Spring Hill Forge. He is hoping for peace soon "if Lincoln will acknowledge our independence....But all of Europe is cold and insensitive to this terrible war." He continues to describe how the blockade has taught Southerners to produce what they need at home.

One year later, in 1863, Lieutenant Colonel Hammarskjöld decided to return to Sweden with his mother and sister. Back home he received employment in the Swedish State Railways. In 1864 he was appointed station inspector at Forserum railway station, transferring to Falköping in the province of Västergötland in 1865. In 1866 he was promoted to assistant traffic director and in 1875 won further promotion to traffic director of the Fifth District. He married Agnes Hellman of Stockholm in 1870. Carl Jacob Hammarskjöld died in Stockholm on 24 April 1884 and was survived by his mother, who died in Uppsala in 1890. The House of the Nobility in Stockholm purchased his large collection of seals and weapon stamps.

Lieutenant Colonel
Baron Ludvig (Louis) Lybecker
(1826-1905)

Baron Karl Ludvig (Louis) Viktor Bleckert Lybecker was born 29 July 1826 on Österby Manor, close to Enköping in the province of Södermanland. His father was Major C. F. Lybecker and his mother was a Zetterstén. The Lybecker family came to Sweden from Germany in the seventeenth century. It was ennobled in 1709 through Harald Lybecker (1649-1714), who was deputy judge. When Karl Ludvig was only seven years old, the family decided that he should pursue a military career. From 1839 he was a cadet at the Karlberg Military Academy, but resigned in 1846 due to an illness. He served as sergeant (from the age of 12!) of the Royal Swedish Hussars. As of 1842 he was also a royal valet to Her Majesty Queen Josefina. Following his resignation from the Military Academy, Lybecker became a surveyor, graduating in the city of Härnösand (northern Sweden) in 1848. After that, he was employed for a year in the city of Sundsvall, just south of Härnösand.

When his mother died, Karl Ludvig claimed part of his inheritance and traveled in Europe. He lived in Paris and Antwerp, where he worked at a broker's office. Through contacts he was given the opportunity to travel in Egypt, Turkey, and other countries in the Middle East. Lybecker later returned to Sweden, claimed the rest of his inheritance, and immigrated to the United States in 1851. In New York he taught German, French, and music at a school for girls. After a few years he moved to Chicago and then to St. Louis, where he worked in a bank and taught music.

On 28 January 1861, Lybecker received an appointment as Swedish-Norwegian vice consul in St. Louis, a post that he held for only three months. In a letter dated 25 April that year, Swedish-Norwegian Consul-General Habicht in New York reported to the Foreign Minister in Stockholm about his resignation:

His behavior there [in St. Louis] had obviously been beneficial to the rebellious southern states. It has attracted attention in the local newspapers. Vice Consul Sandell has sent me an original letter from Lybecker to persons

living in Chicago, in which he expressed his devotion to the present undertaking of the southern states and declared that he was member of two societies advocating southern principles, etc.¹¹

In October, Lybecker left St. Louis to join Brigadier General M. Jeff Thompson's secessionist forces (1st Division, Missouri State Guard) operating in southeast Missouri. On 17 January 1862 he was enrolled as quartermaster sergeant in the artillery battery being organized for the Confederate army by Captain Robert C. McDonald at New Madrid, Missouri. In the summer of 1862, McDonald's Battery served aboard Jeff Thompson's Mississippi "River Defense Fleet" in actions near Memphis. Later, they manned the guns of the ironclad CSS *Arkansas* before being transferred to infantry service on 28 August 1862 (Co. D, 6th Missouri Infantry). Lybecker, however, appears to have returned to Missouri on a recruiting mission.

At Chalk Bluff, Missouri, on 6 June 1863, he joined Griswold's Missouri Battery (also known as 13th Missouri Battery) as second lieutenant. This battery became attached to Brigadier General John S. Marmaduke's cavalry division in Arkansas and saw action during the Little Rock expedition between 1 August and 14 September 1863 and at Pine Bluff on 25 October 1863. According to sources in Sweden, Louis Lybecker afterwards served as lieutenant colonel and volunteer aide-de-camp on the staff of General Marmaduke, probably from 1864. No proof of this service has been found in the National Archives or in the Missouri State Archives but, as such, he would have taken an active part in the Camden expedition (April-May 1864) and in Price's Missouri expedition (September-November 1864).

Some additional information on Baron Lybecker's service in the Confederate army is found in an obituary published in the newspaper *Stockholms Tidningen*. He fought, he had told the reporter on an earlier occasion, long after General Lee had surrendered in April 1865. With a few southern men he held a fort on the Mississippi River. Cut off from the surrounding world for a long time, they did not know of Lee's surrender in the east. It was not until a Federal warship appeared on the river outside the fort that they were informed. Lybecker was then forced to lower the Confederate flag. The Union naval officer lauded him for the brave defense of the fort and he was paroled with his men. At that time his wardrobe was minimal. He only had his gray field coat, his underwear, and one pair of shoes; his soldiers were not better dressed.¹²

¹¹ Letter from Consul Habicht to the Foreign Minister, Archive of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Swedish National Archives, Stockholm.

¹² *Stockholms Tidningen*, 31 May 1905. The authors have been unable to determine which post on the Mississippi, if any, was held by the Confederates as late as 1865.

“Highly educated, a true nobleman and with the vigor of a youngster into his old age, he had kept his enthusiasm for the South—and when he played ‘General Lee’s March’ on the piano the old man was once more all afire.”¹³

On 18 July 18 1865, Baron Lybecker wrote to the foreign minister of Sweden-Norway to ask if his resignation of 1861 had been accepted:

Please inform me if my resignation as Swedish & Norwegian v. Consul has been accepted by proper authorities? In May or June 1861, I mailed it and received an acknowledgement of my letter from Consul Habicht N.Y. but, as he cannot appoint the v. Consuls, I presume he cannot accept their resignation only forward them to proper authorities for acceptance or not acceptance.

I left above-mentioned year in October for the southern army and have just returned, so before I left or the time between my resignation and the departure for the south was, in my opinion, long enough to receive an official answer from the foreign bureau or proper authority.

I have now, according to the law and agreements between the generals commanding opposing forces, acted and taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, it is the first time I have done so; before I was a subject of Sweden.

Not knowing what will happen and desirous to remain unmolested in my present occupation as clerk with L. A. Benoist & Co. Bankers, I would respectfully ask for your advice, and if, according to your instructions, agreeable and lawful, I should like again to become a subject of Sweden and under your protection, I do not suppose you can refuse me that protection.

In expectation of an immediate answer and a kind consideration of my situation, I shall be more than grateful to receive your answer....¹⁴

Presumably, Baron Lybecker’s wish to become a Swedish citizen again had to do with problems he might face during the reconstruction years as a former officer of the Confederate army. After the war he returned to his old job as a banker and music teacher in St. Louis. Later, he was employed as surveyor for a railway company. In 1883 he decided to leave the United States for Sweden.

On his return to Sweden he became an employee of the Länna-Norrälje Railway and rose to station inspector at the Finsta railway station. Remaining in Finsta after his retirement, Baron Lybecker was given quarters by stationmaster Carl Johan Olsson. When he died on 29 May 1905, he left most of his few worldly possessions to Olsson—some furniture, household articles, books, and postcards. He was buried at the Skederid churchyard near Finsta and gave

¹³ *Stockholms Tidningen*, 31 May 1905.

¹⁴ From the Lybecker file at the Archive of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Swedish National Archives, Stockholm.

precise written instructions about the funeral service. It would be simple, with no one in attendance, no speeches, or bell chiming. Olsson's daughter, Marie-Louise, who had her second name from the Baron, felt responsible for his resting place and took care of the grave until her death in 1993.

In 1979, Lybecker appeared in a documentary novel written by Peter Nerman. There he is described as a loner carrying a long, mahogany walking stick with a silver top. According to local rumors, he was a veteran of the Anglo-Boer War. Obviously, he did not talk much about his Civil War experiences.¹⁵

Lieutenant Colonel

Eric Ersson

(1840-1872)

Eric Er(s)son was born in Haglunda, Gottröra Parish, Uppland, in 1840. At the age of ten, he immigrated to the United States with his father, who was hired to work for Hammarskjöld in South Carolina. By the outbreak of the American Civil War, Erson worked as a merchant in Lincolnton, North Carolina. He joined the Confederate army on 25 April 1861 as a private in Company K, 1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment. Erson's height was given as 5' 10" at the time. The regiment was organized for six months' service and left Raleigh, North Carolina, for Virginia in May 1861. Stationed on the Virginia Peninsula, Erson received his baptism of fire at Big Bethel Church, south of Yorktown, on June 10. He was promoted to corporal on 25 July 1861 but saw no further action before the 1st North Carolina was mustered out in November 1861.

Returning to North Carolina, Ersson was active in recruiting men for a new regiment. On 28 April 1862 he was made captain of Company H, 52nd North Carolina Infantry, organized near Raleigh. He spent most of the following year garrisoning various points close to the Virginia border. In June 1863, the 52nd North Carolina formed part of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and advanced into Pennsylvania. At the Battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on 3 July, Captain Erson was wounded in the hand leading his men in the famous "Pickett's Charge." After his recovery, he was promoted to the rank of major.

Over the next eleven months, Erson fought in every campaign involving the Army of Northern Virginia—Bristoe Station, Mine Run, The Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor. During the subsequent siege of Petersburg, the 52nd North Carolina distinguished itself on many occasions, particularly at Reams' Station on 25 August 1864. Here Erson received a painful wound in the thigh. He won promotion to lieutenant colonel on August 30, and was back in action in September. More heavy fighting followed at Peeble's Farm (30 September 1864), Burgess' Mill (27 October 1864), Hatcher's Run (6

¹⁵ Lennart Jansson, "Baronen i Finsta: Ett märkligt levnadsöde," *Sjuhundraårigens årsskrift 1994*, 77-82.

February 1865), and the final assault of the Petersburg lines (2 April 1865). Lieutenant Colonel Erson surrendered with the remnants of his regiment at Appomattox on 9 April 1865.

After the surrender of General Robert E. Lee, Erson claimed his parole. He was allowed to keep his horse and returned to his woman back home. Early 1866 his sweetheart, Sara Jane Arent, became Mrs. Eric Erson. Being an energetic man, he began recovering his losses during the war. He was well respected and loved in the community. In 1872 Erson was a family man with two daughters, Fannie and Mary, and he had started on a political career. Eventually the citizens of Lincoln County elected him county commissioner. Had he not been struck by an accident he might well have ended as governor of the state of North Carolina. While riding he was thrown from his horse. He suffered major internal injuries and passed away at the early age of thirty-two. The commissioners of Lincoln County dedicated a page in the record book to his memory and a resolution was passed in his honor.

In 1999 Lieutenant Colonel Erson was honored at a ceremony at Saint Luke's Lutheran Church in Lincoln County.¹⁶ A bronze marker was placed at his grave and re-enactors fired a volley in his honor. Lincoln County is connected to eight Confederate generals (four by birth), among them Major General Stephen Dodson Ramseur and Major General Robert F. Hoke.

Lieutenant Colonel
James H. Hallonquist
(1834-1884)

James H. Hallonquist was born in South Carolina of Swedish parents in 1834. A graduate of West Point Military Academy, he served in the 4th U.S. Artillery and as artillery instructor at Fort Monroe, Virginia, but lacked combat experience when the war broke out in 1861. After South Carolina seceded, Hallonquist resigned from the U.S. Army and was commissioned captain in the South Carolina state army. He was placed in charge of a battery in Charleston harbor (Fort Moultrie) and participated in the bombardment of Fort Sumter on 12 April 1861, which signaled the beginning of the American Civil War.

A few days later, on April 20, Hallonquist was ordered to report to General Braxton Bragg in Pensacola, Florida. Appointed lieutenant in the Confederate army, he served as Bragg's inspector and mustering officer, with the task of forming raw volunteers into organized military units. On 6 December 1861 he was promoted to major of the 2nd Alabama Artillery Battalion, which was organized in Mobile, Alabama. His tenure as battalion commander was short, however. When General Bragg's corps moved to Corinth, Mississippi, in March

¹⁶ Conducted by the Sons of Confederate Veterans, Camp Gen. Robert F. Hoke / William J. Hoke #1616, Lincolnton, North Carolina.

1862, Bragg requested that Hallonquist become his artillery inspector. He served on Bragg's staff during the Battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, on 6 April 1862.

A few months later General Bragg assumed command of the Army of Tennessee. He made his trusted subordinate, James Hallonquist, inspector and chief of artillery for the army. Promoted to lieutenant colonel 17 July 1862, Hallonquist next participated in the Kentucky Campaign (fall 1862) and the Battle of Murfreesboro (31 December 1862-2 January 1863). When the army went into winter quarters in and around Tullahoma, Tennessee, he journeyed to Atlanta to oversee personally the equipping of several batteries. Returning in March, Hallonquist followed the Army of Tennessee through the campaigns and battles for Tullahoma, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga in 1863.

As artillery chief, Hallonquist was, according to one historian, "preoccupied with housekeeping details to the exclusion of administration and tactical innovation."¹⁷ After General Bragg's removal, he quickly lost status. Two months before the Atlanta Campaign, in March 1864, Brigadier General Francis A. Shoup replaced him as chief of artillery. He assumed command of the army's reserve artillery (three battalions) on June 10, a position that he held until that organization was broken up following the Battle of Atlanta on 22 July 1864. Lieutenant Colonel Hallonquist subsequently served as chief of artillery of Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee's (formerly Hood's) corps until the evacuation of Atlanta in September. At that point he left the Army of Tennessee with orders to proceed to Macon, Georgia. He was still there in February 1865.

At the close of the war, Hallonquist moved to Texas and was, for a while, state engineer under Governor Throckmorton. He did not marry, and retired from business in 1882.

Hallonquist committed suicide in 1884. No record of his death has been found in any of the cemetery records in Kaufman County, Texas, where he resided at the time of death.

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A Swedish-American Drama

Ann Johnson Barton*

The story of Swedish migration is a drama rooted in economics on both sides of the Atlantic. Cheap, plentiful, and fertile land was begging to be settled on this side of the ocean; whereas in Sweden three consecutive droughts in the late 1860s made it nearly impossible for farmers to feed their families on the small, rocky, and hilly farms where the growing season was short. Most of the early immigrants were farmers, reacting both to the frustrating conditions in Sweden and the promise of large, productive fields in this country.

THE CAST

Too numerous to list. All are real people.

ACT I — THE DILEMMA

Scene 1 Time: 1862 Place: Washington, D.C.

The U.S. Congress, now composed entirely of Northerners, is debating for about the twelfth year how to open up the vast unsettled lands of the Midwest and beyond. The cantankerous Southerners are gone, but the image problem persists.

Nebraska, for instance, was known as the Great American Desert. It had few trees for either shade or construction—sod dug from the ground was the only natural building material. Just an occasional river or creek watered its land. There was little to stop a raging prairie fire or a howling blizzard. Summers were long, hot, and obsessively humid; winters were long, cold, and unrelentingly snowy. No air-conditioning or central heating offered comfort in 1862. As for electricity, it came only in the form of lightning. Nebraska was, quite frankly, written off by those venerable senators and representatives as being “uninhabitable.”

And it wasn't just image! There was no transportation to that enormous wasteland. Congress had wanted to connect the country's two coasts by rail, but was unable to justify the expense. Could it possibly be, mused those legislators

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from northern states, that the railroads would take some of that useless land as compensation for laying the rails? If the railroads were able to sell that land to prospective settlers, two goals could be accomplished. And they were.

Two legislative acts passed within six weeks of one another would permanently change the face of the American Midwest. The land would be settled and the United States would catapult to the role of major player on the world agricultural markets.

The Homestead Act

Passed on 20 May 1862, the Homestead Act gave 160 acres of public land to any person who was both head of a household (or at least 21 years of age) and was a U.S. citizen (or had filed for naturalization). A fee of \$14 was imposed when a Nebraska settler applied for homestead land and an additional \$4 was collected when he fulfilled all the Homestead Act conditions. This was free land, for the token payments simply defrayed the administrative costs incurred by the land office. Because convenient access to markets was recognized as a significant advantage, homesteads of only 80 acres could be taken near a railroad grant.

The Homestead Act stipulated that ground be broken within six months. The homesteader was required to build a dwelling and to live in that house, with his family, for at least five years. He was obligated to cultivate the land.

After a minimum of five years, when all conditions of the Act had been met, the homesteader appeared at the local land office in the company of two of his neighbors who would testify to his continuous residence upon, and cultivation of, his land. Once his proof was accepted and the final \$4 paid, the homesteader was issued a U.S. Patent Deed by the general land office in Washington, D.C. A person could apply for homestead land only once in his lifetime. If he couldn't prove his claim on one piece of land, he was not permitted to try on another.

Union Pacific Railway Act

On 1 July 1862 Congress passed the second act pertinent to the immigration story. This act granted to the Union Pacific Railroad every odd-numbered section of land for twenty miles on either side of the proposed track westward from the Missouri River. In exchange for building a roadbed, the Union Pacific was allowed—actually encouraged—to sell this land.

Railroad land was not free. Prices ranged from \$3 to \$5 an acre. A 10 percent down payment was required, but credit was extended up to eleven years. Interest was generally computed at 4 to 6 percent and, for the first three years, a purchaser was allowed to pay interest only. All the Union Pacific contracts were for 40 acres, and many grantees bought two or more contiguous 40-acre plots.

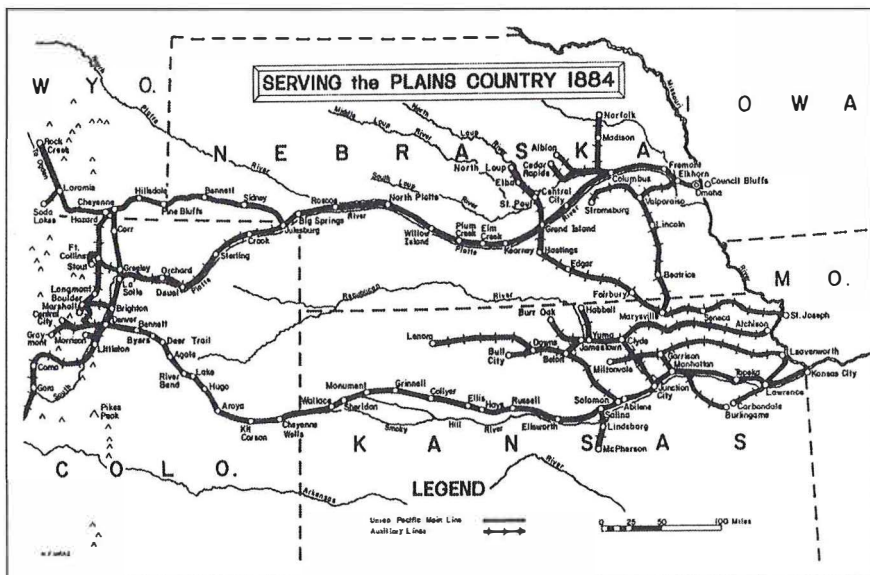
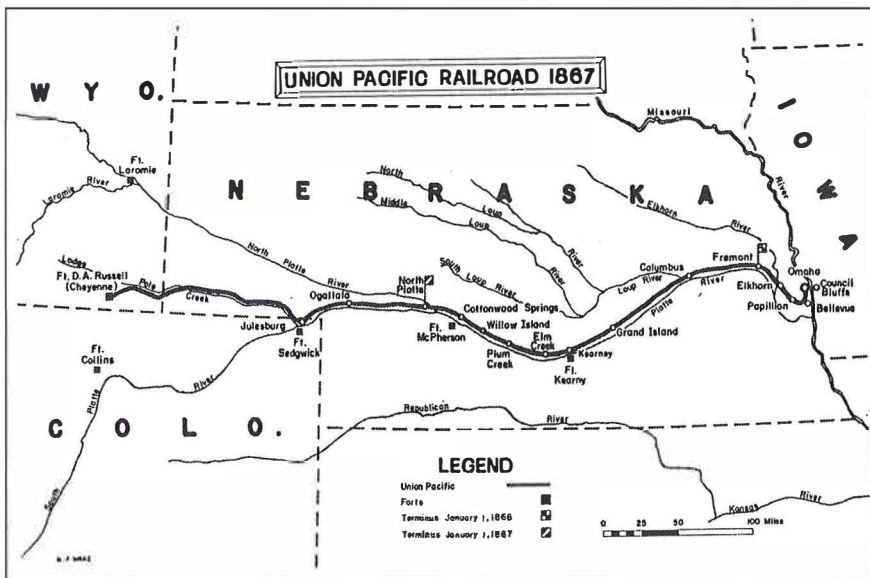


Fig. 1. Extent of the Union Pacific Railroad lines in 1867 and 1884. Reprinted from *Union Pacific Country* by Robert G. Athearn by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. Copyright © 1971 by Robert G. Athearn.

The purchaser could occupy the land immediately after signing the contract, but he didn't receive a warranty deed until full payment had been made, including any outstanding interest and taxes back to the contract date. He had no obligation to either develop the land or to live on it.

Other railroads were granted odd-numbered sections by amendment to the Union Pacific Act. All railroads with public land mounted aggressive advertising campaigns to lure potential buyers to their properties. They were hard-nosed about this, for the sale of their land was the only way to recoup the costs of track construction. In its promotional effort, the Union Pacific set the standards for modern-day advertising. Nebraska suddenly became the "Garden of the West"! With that sweep of the pen, Nebraska's image was reversed.

You might ask why a farmer would want to buy railroad land when homesteads were essentially free. Actually, there were two major groups who were candidates for railroad land.

The first group didn't qualify for homestead sites. My paternal grandfather, Andrew Johnson, was seventeen and single when he bought his first 40 acres of railroad land directly across the road from his homesteading parents in Polk County, Nebraska. He didn't qualify for a homestead under the age/head of household requirement and he didn't want to build a house. Other farmers couldn't claim a homestead because they chose not to become a citizen or hadn't gotten around to filing for naturalization. Still others already had a homestead site and wanted to expand their crop land.

The second group came to Nebraska after the best homestead land had been taken. The Union Pacific didn't complete its track in Nebraska until after 1867 and, consequently, didn't begin to sell its land for five years after homesteads were offered to the public. Prime railroad land became available after the homestead market had stalled. And, of course, the purchaser was assured reasonable proximity to the railroad. But why would a Swede make that expensive ocean passage, leaving a familiar way of life behind, when there was no guarantee that American land and weather would prove economically beneficial on any sort of predictable basis?

Scene 2 Time: 1860s Place: Sweden, particularly southern Sweden

Families were large and farms were small. Division of family land among several sons over the generations resulted in plots too small to provide a sustainable living. Often only the eldest of several sons inherited the family farm, leaving the younger ones to work for others as paid hands. The future, for many, was bleak. But there was opportunity in "Amerika."

Swedes were generally ambitious and possessed a drive to succeed. They were hard-working and honest, and the young people, in particular, had a yen for adventure. They were experienced in moving from place to place, for as farm hands or dairy maids, they spent just a year or so in each assignment. And they were not afraid of snow! Swedes were ideal candidates for the challenge.

Even before 1862, enormous excitement about the New World was created in the motherland by Swedes who had already made the break. They wrote letters back home extolling the abundance and fertility of American farm land as well as the friendliness of the American people. When a letter from the American Midwest arrived in a Swedish rural area, it initiated a social event. The letter was passed around the parish from one household to another accompanied by much chatter and speculation. Some were published in the local newspapers and were widely read. Known in Sweden under the column heading *Amerikabrev* (America letters), these testimonies from their own kin aroused the interest, and dispelled some of the apprehensions, of Swedes who viewed their future as less than economically bright.

The "pull" of free, fertile land and a friendly reception was complemented by the "push" element of the small Swedish farms. With the three-year drought, the "push" gained momentum. The first major wave of Swedish emigration occurred during the years immediately following the crop failures of 1866 to 1868.

Scene 3 Time: Early 1880s Place: Sweden

The 1880s brought two agricultural crises to Sweden. Overpopulation, created mostly by a substantial drop in the death rate, resulted in a surplus of manpower. Farm jobs became harder to find and wages became mercilessly depressed for the landless farm laborers. In addition, Sweden experienced a dramatic loss of share in the agricultural grain market, which drastically affected the country's economy. This was a direct repercussion of the U.S. Homestead Act. The rocky Swedish soil and its small farms could not compete with the ever-enlarging, cost-effective farms of the fertile American Midwest. Sweden actually became an importer of American rye and wheat.

The emigrants of the 1870s had contributed to their motherland's agricultural predicament! And that new crisis provoked a second wave of emigration to the United States. In the 1880s, the economic reasons for Swedes to emigrate were compelling and, by that time, there was considerable confidence in the financial prospects in the New World. Minnesota had recently been opened for homesteading, and many Swedes of this era chose that state as their new home.

ACT II — THE VOYAGE

Scene 1 Time: Late 1860s Place: England

Sensing an opportunity for market expansion, the British steamship lines built new ships expressly for the emigrant trade. The National Line fleet was organized in 1863 and, in the following year, launched the SS *Helvetia* intended exclusively for the emigrant market. The SS *Helvetia* had a single propeller

capable of moving the ship at twelve knots under steam and was also fitted with square sails to take advantage of any wind power the ship encountered on its transatlantic journey.

Other ships of similar construction also serviced the emigrant traffic. So tightly bound was the National Line to its original mission that the company was dissolved after the U.S. financial panic of 1893 brought emigration to a near halt. In April 1894 the SS *Helvetia* was abandoned off Cape Finisterre after her passengers and crew landed safely at Gibraltar.

The transatlantic ships left Liverpool, typically on a Friday, and made one stop in Queenstown (modern-day Cobh), Ireland. To get to Liverpool the Swedes first traveled by train, wagon, or on foot to the port of Göteborg, sailed across the North Sea to Hull in England, and then took a train to Liverpool. Special emigrant ships were built for the North Sea passage.

The SS *Orlando* was constructed in Hull in 1869. It was the largest emigrant ship to date, capable of carrying 900 passengers across the North Sea. A sister ship, the SS *Rollo* was built the following year. The *Rollo* served until 1881, when the SS *Romeo* replaced her.

With their fleets ready for business, the steamship lines relocated their finest agents to the primary Scandinavian ports and placed sub-agents in the smaller towns and even in rural areas. They often publicized their respective passenger lines in cooperation with the American railroads, selling package deals all the way to the inland destination in the United States.

Without leaving his home parish, a Scandinavian could secure information about travel arrangements and actually book passage from a northern European port to the United States. Göteborg was the most popular Swedish port, but Stockholm and Malmö also processed emigrants.

In 1869 the cost of travel from Göteborg to Chicago was 165 *riksdaler* or \$41. Adjusted for inflation, that would be about \$500 today. Most Swedish farmers booked steerage accommodations. Before a Swede could legally leave his country, however, it was necessary to get permission from the church. This free, official document was called an exit permit (*flyttningsbetyg*).

When an entire family contemplated emigration, often a son would come to this country first to make his own assessment on behalf of the family. He would be young, adventurous, and open-minded about prospects in the new land. The family might come in segments, depending upon its finances. Often the wife and daughters would not be called to this country until the man had procured farm land.

Scene 2 Time: 1855 to 1891 Place: New York Harbor

When a foreign ship arrived in New York harbor, its first stop was at Staten Island for medical inspection. Then it docked in either the Hudson or East River. After passing customs on the dock, the passengers were taken by barge to the immigration center at Castle Garden, where they registered with immigration

authorities, changed money, bathed, and ate. Because Castle Garden had no sleeping facilities, the immigrants departed for their American home by barge or train within hours after their arrival in this country.

Castle Garden was originally built as a fort in 1807-09 and served as Fort Clinton in the War of 1812. In 1823 it was converted to an opera house where the famous Swedish singer, Jenny Lind, performed in 1823. It was 600 feet in diameter, the largest auditorium in the world at that time. On 1 August 1855, Castle Garden opened as an immigration center. It would not be until 1 January 1892 that Ellis Island would receive newcomers from foreign lands.

ACT III — THE IMMIGRANT FARMER

Scene 1 Time: 1870s Place: The American Midwest

It took about \$500 in 1870's currency to establish an economically viable homestead—that is, to build a house, barn and corn crib, to bore a well, buy some animals, and plant the first crops. Most Swedes heading for homestead land did not have that kind of money under the mattress. But the new world financially rewarded those who would work hard. In Moline, Illinois, for instance, the John Deere Company favored Scandinavians for employment in its factory. Many of our ancestors took advantage of this opportunity, or similar ones, to earn the capital needed to develop a farm.

What did a Swede bound for Nebraska find when he arrived in that "Garden of the West"? Nebraska was the complete antithesis of Sweden. There were no trees, few lakes, no rocks, no hills, and very little in the way of construction materials. But the land was fertile! And to the Swedish eye, the farms were large—very large. Several of their neighbors spoke their language and shared their culture as well as their work ethic. They helped each other.

Yes, there were grasshopper epidemics in 1874-75, with heart-wrenching crop destruction. Yes, there were historic blizzards and one would rage in 1888 with extraordinary loss of life and property. In the decade of the 1890s, a financial panic would rip the country and a drought would devastate the Nebraska corn crop so essential for both animal feed and stove fuel.

National statistics claim that 25 percent of those who applied for homestead land would give up in despair. The rugged Scandinavians mostly toughed it out. They built churches and cemeteries and planted trees for shade. By and large, their children were successful. Many became prosperous farmers and others were educated for professional careers. Those first years in the new land were arduous, to be sure. But for those who persevered, there was undreamed of reward.

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The Information about John Root—a Misleading Tangle^o

Börje Östberg*

Editor's Note: The following letter, which I received on 14 February 2001, serves as a good introduction to the accompanying article. The footnotes are mine.

Dear Dr. Erickson!

A [foot]note 9 is attached to the article in *SAG* (December 2000),¹ "What Did You Go Out to See?," regarding my article in *SAG* (June 1988)² and Erik Wikén's article in *SAG* (December 1990)³ about the identity of John Root.

I found out about Wikén's article long afterward and felt it was too late to submit a reply.

However, both my article and Wikén's were published in the magazine *Dalfolk* (1995:2) and I was offered [a chance] to reply soon thereafter. My reply was published in *Dalfolk* (1995:4). Wikén had been offered to submit an answer to my reply in the same issue, but declined.

I enclose a copy of my reply in *Dalfolk* (1995:4) for your information. The essence of it is that information about Root's identity from people of Bishop Hill is useless because Root—a fired clergyman in a colony led by Erik Jansson, who hated the clergy—had to carefully hide his past when attempting to build a social status in Bishop Hill.

Best regards,

Börje Östberg

^o This article by Börje Östberg was first published in *Dalfolk* (1995:4) under the title "Uppgifterna om John Root en härva av villospår." Reprinted by permission of the author and the editor of *Dalfolk*. It was translated from the Swedish by Ingrid A Lang Translations, 13415 10th Ave. S.E., Milaca, MN 56353. E-mail: <ingrid@maxminn.com>.

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¹ Anna Söderblom; translated by John E. Norton, "What Did You Go Out to See?," *Swedish American Genealogist* XX (December 2000): 189-210.

² Börje Östberg, "Who Was John Root?," *Swedish American Genealogist* VIII (June 1988): 73-79.

³ Erik Wikén, "John Root Once More," *Swedish American Genealogist* X (December 2000): 178-185.



In *Dalfolk* 1995:2, I presented my hypothesis that John Root, who murdered Bishop Hill's leader Erik Jansson, was identical to the clergyman Carl Johan Reutermark who was fired for alcohol abuse. Reutermark crossed the Atlantic as a deckhand, escaped in New York harbor, and disappeared without a trace. A couple of months later, John Root appeared in Bishop Hill.

In the same issue of *Dalfolk*, Erik Wikén states he cannot accept this hypothesis for two reasons. Root is said to be from Stockholm, both in a letter from a member of the Bishop Hill Colony and also in a statement by another Swedish-American. Also, Root is noted to have been twenty-six years old in the American census of 1850. Wikén calls this a source of important value even if it clearly is no more reliable than Root's own statement.

More information than what is given by Wikén is available about John Root in letters and memoranda from the time shortly after the murder. Root supposedly came from a well-to-do family in Stockholm and was a non-commissioned officer in Sweden. If this was true, Root's origin would have been known a long time ago. That is how excellent the Swedish national registration and military rolls are, which is well known. The reason so many historians and genealogists have failed in their attempts to trace Root in Sweden is basically that they have looked at Swedish families by the name of Roth (Rooth, Rut, Ruth, etc.).

The Swedish-American historian of religion, S. G. Youngert at Augustana College, was most probably correct when he talked about "a person who called himself Rooth. However, this was not his correct name." (From the collection of articles, *Swedes in America*, Stockholm 1925-1926). Youngert continues: "He was one of these incorrigible souls who sometimes were sent to America by authorities and guardians in order to get rid of them." The wording gives the impression that Youngert knew who Root was, but did not want to reveal it.

One piece of information unquestionably came from Root himself—the statement that he was twenty-six years old in 1850. An eyewitness's impression is that this information regarding his age is false.

The emigrant, Trued Pearson (Persson), was present during Root's trial shortly after his arrival in the U.S. in 1851. He describes Root in his notes as "still in his best years and handsome, sitting in a chair with his legal representative." (Published in 1937, after his death, with the title *A pioneer from Skåne in America*).

"... still in his best years"—this is not how one would describe a man in his twenties, but possibly someone around forty-five years of age.

As every genealogist knows, people frequently lied about their age for different reasons. A closely related example: Root was accompanied to Bishop Hill by a former captain at Rättvik Company, Karl Zimmerman, who had recently participated in the United States' war against Mexico. When he signed on for the war, he stated his age as thirty-three, when in fact he was forty-eight.

John Root spread false information about himself so that his origin could not be traced. This is similar to Carl Jonas Lovis (Love) Almqvist when he was

fleeing in America under the name Lewis Gustavi (i.e., Gustavsson; his father's name was Gustav). The false tracks reached Sweden from Bishop Hill in several letters from members of the colony to family members.

My hypothesis implies that Root was a clergyman, fired because of alcohol abuse, who attempted to build a new social standing within the religious colony of Erik Jansson, who had a hatred of the clergy. In order to succeed he had to conceal his identity with all means possible. His statement that he came from Stockholm almost proved he did not.

In conclusion

The following speaks for my hypothesis: 1) that Reutermark disappeared without a trace shortly before Root showed up "out of nowhere" in Bishop Hill; 2) that Root stated he had taken part in the war against Mexico, which was also said about Reutermark in Sweden; and 3) that the name Carl Johan Reutermark when adapted in English becomes John Root because "reut" is pronounced "root" in English.

Separately, these circumstances are not enough. Together, they support the hypothesis that it was Reutermark who called himself Root in America and committed the murder of Erik Jansson.

Genealogical Workshop: Records of an Immigrant Family. Addendum

James E. Erickson

After sharing a rather complete set of Swedish and American records associated with my paternal great-grandparents in the previous four segments of Genealogical Workshop, I was fully prepared to begin a new topic for this issue of *Swedish American Genealogist*. But then I received a letter from Lorene Anderson of Paso Robles, California. She related the fact that her grandfather, Charles Anderson, was a passenger aboard the same two ships on which my paternal great-grandparents and their four children sailed to the United States (i.e., on the *Romeo* from Göteborg, Sweden, on 6 April 1888; on the *Catalonia* from Liverpool, England, on 12 April 1888).¹

The following two paragraphs, excerpted from Lorene's letter of 2 January 2001, help explain why I felt the need to attach an addendum to the original four-part series:

The emigrant contract detailed in the September 2000 issue was particularly helpful to me, since it was for the same date and ship that my grandfather was on! His emigrant contract wasn't among his papers when he died and my father didn't know why his father happened to land at Boston.

In case you don't have a *description of the trip* [emphasis mine] from your ancestors, I am sending copies of two brief descriptions that were among my grandfather's papers...

The first "description" included in Lorene's letter was a photocopy of a document written in English by Charles Anderson that said:

I left Sweden (Gothenburg) Apr. 6th at 10 kl. p.m. 1888 by steamer *Romeo*. Came to England Apr. 8th 9:30 a.m. Left Liverpool Apr. 12th 11:30 a.m. by steamer *Catalonia* of the Cunard line. Arrived at Boston U.S. Apr. 24th same year. Remained in state of Michigan one year and a half. Came to Templeton, Cal. Oct. 28th, 1889.

¹ For details see James E. Erickson, "Genealogical Workshop: Records of an Immigrant Family. Part 1," *Swedish American Genealogist* (September 2000): 176-179; James E. Erickson, "Genealogical Workshop: Records of an Immigrant Family. Part 2," *Swedish American Genealogist* (December 2000): 226-228.

Date of Declaration Aug. 20th 1890; Chas. W Dana, County Clerk of S.L. Obispo Co.

Date of Naturalization May 18th 1896. V. A. Gregg, Superior Judge. John Whicher, Clerk in San Luis Obispo Co., Cal.

Janne came to Templeton June 3rd 1891.

Herman came to Templeton May 5th 1894.

Wessman came to Templeton in Jan. 1894.

The second "description" was a photocopy of three pages from Charles Anderson's personal diary (see document 22). The translation is as follows:

Our journey to North America with the Cunard Line. The year 1888.

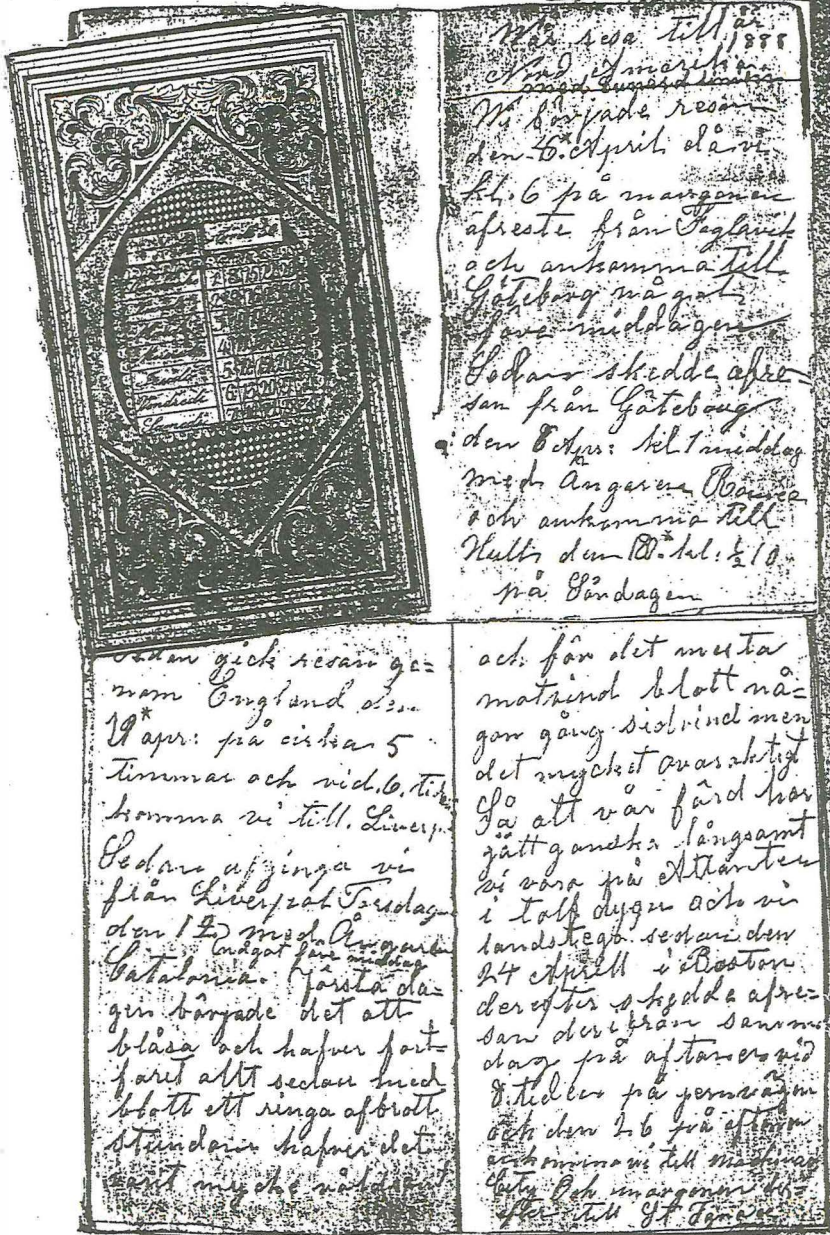
We began our journey April 6th, when we departed from Foglavik at 6 o'clock in the morning and arrived in Göteborg a little before noon. The departure from Göteborg took place April 6th at 1 p.m. with the steamer *Romeo* and arrival in Hull was Sunday the 8th at 9:30.

Then we traveled through England April 9th for about 5 hours and arrived in Liverpool about 6 o'clock.

Then we left Liverpool Thursday the 12th a little before noon with the steamer *Catalonia*. The wind picked up during the first day and it has continued to blow ever since with only a short break. At times, the wind has been very strong and mostly headwind. Only now and then side-wind and only for very short periods of time. So our journey has been rather slow. We spent twelve days on the Atlantic and set foot in Boston on April 24th. Thereafter, we departed from Boston the same day in the evening around 8 o'clock by train and on the evening of the 26th we arrived in Mackinaw City [Michigan]. We arrived in St. Ignace [Michigan] the morning thereafter.

The material highlighted above illustrates two "take-home lessons" for genealogical researchers: 1) you never know from what source your next piece of information will come, so expect the unexpected and expect to be surprised; and 2) whether your next piece of information is significant or insignificant, there is always more to learn.

In this case, the information gained was as seemingly insignificant and mundane as departure and arrival times and weather conditions on the Atlantic. But they, along with the myriad other details—some important, others less so—that get uncovered over time, ultimately help define/describe the larger whole that was the immigrant experience for my Erickson ancestors.



Document 22. Three pages from the diary of Charles Anderson.

Genealogical Queries

Genealogical queries from subscribers to *Swedish American Genealogist* will be listed here free of charge on a “space available” basis. The editor reserves the right to edit these queries to conform to a general format. The inquirer is responsible for the contents of the query.

Oden, Aronson, Miller/Möller

Pastor M. P. Oden played a significant part in the lives of both of our great-grandparents. This was a recent surprise discovery, since our great-grandparents lived quite a distance apart. Both were associated with the Swedish Lutheran churches in their communities. Joyce’s great-grandfather, John Miller/Johan Möller, knew Pastor Oden when he was serving the Muskegon and Big Rapids churches in western Michigan. There he confirmed John Miller’s son, Peter, in 1880.

In 1895 he conducted the funeral for Charles’s great-grandfather, Olof Aronson, in Sioux City, Iowa. We both should like to know more about his pastor who touched lives in both our families. Any information—personal data, places where he ministered, his obituary and burial place—will help us “flesh out” this man’s history.

Joyce (Miller) and Charles W. Scott
8 Applewood Lane
London, Ontario
Canada N6J 3P8

1218

Editor’s Note: Conrad Bergendoff, in *The Augustana Ministerium: A Study of the Careers of the 2,504 Pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/Church 1850-1962* (Augustana Historical Society: Rock Island, IL, 1980), p. 28, writes the following: “**ODEN, MARTIN PATRICIUS**, ordained June 22, 1879, Chicago, Ill. b. Nov. 13, 1852, Onsala, Halland, Sw., Johannes Oden & Anna M. (Liman). Latin School, Göteborg, 1871-76. U.S. 1876. Aug. Coll., 1876-77; Sem., 1877-79. Big Rapids, Muskegon, Mich., 1879-81; Ottumwa, Ia., 1881-89; Tustin, Mich., 1889-91; Alta, Ia., 1891-1900; Kackley, Kan., 1900-10; Stanton, Ia., 1910-14; Belvidere, Ill., 1914-21. Pres. Ia. Conf. D.D. Bethany Coll. m. Emma U. Carlberg, 1879, 4 children. d. Aug. 5, 1921.”

Svedberg, Norberg, Burman

I am looking for information about my grandmother's sisters and brother, who emigrated from Söderala. Karin Svedberg was born in 1870 and emigrated in 1890; Margreta Svedberg was born in 1873 and emigrated in 1904. Nils Svedberg (who had the soldier name Norberg), who was born in 1858, and his wife Kristina, who was born in 1859, emigrated in 1883. Their destination was Wisconsin or Minnesota.

I am also interested in Erik Nilsson Burman, who was born in 1844 and emigrated from Enånger in 1869.

I would be very grateful for any information about these people.

Curt Berggren,
Flygarvägen 209,
175 69 Järfälla
SWEDEN
E-mail: <curt.berggren@swipnet.se>

1219**Söderlund**

I am searching for my aunt, Anna Tekla Kristina Söderlund, who was born in Fors Parish (Jämt.) 23 September 1883. She immigrated to the U.S. from Trondheim, Norway, on 25 January 1905 aboard the *Saimo*. Her destination was Minneapolis, Minnesota. She presumably married and had two sons. That is all I know about her.

I am the son of her older brother, Bror Daniel Söderlund (b. 1881), and I would be very happy and grateful for any additional information about Anna Tekla and/or any surviving relatives.

Harry Söderlund
Gussjö Gård 2870
840 73 Bispgården
SWEDEN
E-mail: <h.o.b@telia.com>

1220**Lawson (Larsson), Olsson**

I am very anxious to learn more about my Swedish ancestry, about which I know very little. I know that my great-grandfather, Andrew Lawson, emigrated from Sweden to Australia in 1870 or 1871 to work in the North Queensland mines. I would like to know more about his parents, to whom he was born in Vänersborg (Älvs.) in 1848.

According to information on Andrew's marriage and death certificates, his parents were Lawrence Lawson (a farmer) and Christina (née Olsson). Christina

could possibly be the daughter of Olaf Olsson and Norah Lidman, but that is just a supposition.

I have written many letters to Sweden (to addresses listed in *Tracing Your Swedish Ancestry*, which I obtained from the Swedish Embassy here), but none of these inquiries has led to any new information at all. It has been so disappointing! Maybe I could find some answers from readers of your journal.

Elizabeth Lambton
475 Old Landsborough Road
Landsborough, Queensland 4550
AUSTRALIA

1221

Strandberg, Erickson

I am seeking information about several individuals. David Strandberg was b. in Eldsberga (Hall.) on 21 December 1863. He immigrated to Willcox, Pennsylvania, in 1892 and later lived in Portland, Oregon.

Elmer and Leland Erickson were born in the U.S. ca. 1910 and were living in Portland ca. 1925-30.

Rune Strandberg
Lilla Målen
360 30 Lammhult
SWEDEN

1222

Falk, Jönsdotter

I am looking for the following individuals who immigrated to the U.S. ca. 1890-92: 1) Swan Falk (father), b. in Oppmanna, Sweden, 24 December 1865; 2) Maria Jönsdotter (mother), b. in Långaröd, Sweden, 6 December 1866; and 3) Per Falk (son), b. Oppmanna, Sweden, 16 June 1888.

The family had four sons (born in 1888, 1892, 1896, and 1901) and one daughter, Gladys Elvira, born in 1906. Gladys Elvira married a pharmacist in 1923.

In 1912 their address was: Swan Falk, 1024 10th Street, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Their address was the same until 1937.

Anita Andersson
Ångslupsvägen 8
296 92 Yngsjö
SWEDEN

1223

Table 1. Abbreviations for Swedish provinces (*landskap*) used by *Swedish American Genealogist* (as of March 2000) and Sveriges Släktforskarförbund (the Federation of Swedish Genealogical Societies, Stockholm).

<i>Landskap</i> (Province)	SAG & SS Abbr.	<i>Landskap</i> (Province)	SAG & SS Abbr.
Blekinge	Blek.	Närke	Närk.
Bohuslän	Bohu.	Skåne	Skån.
Dalarna	Dala.	Småland	Smål.
Dalsland	Dals.	Södermanland	Södm.
Gotland	Gotl.	Uppland	Uppl.
Gästrikland	Gäst.	Värmland	Värm.
Halland	Hall.	Västerbotten	Väbo.
Hälsingland	Häls.	Västergötland	Vägö.
Härjedalen	Härj.	Västmanland	Väsm.
Jämtland	Jämt.	Ångermanland	Ånge.
Lappland	Lapp.	Öland	Öland
Medelpad	Mede.	Östergötland	Östg.
Norrbottn	Nobo.		

Table 2. Abbreviations and codes for Swedish counties (*län*) formerly used by *Swedish American Genealogist* (1981-1999) and currently used by Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB) (the Central Bureau of Statistics, Stockholm).

<i>Län</i> (County)	SAG Abbr.	SCB Abbr.	SCB Code	<i>Län</i> (County)	SAG Abbr.	SCB Abbr.	SCB Code
Blekinge	Blek.	Blek.	K	Stockholm	Stock.	Sthm.	AB
Dalarna ^a		Dirn.	W	Södermanland	Söd.	Södm.	D
Gotland	Gotl.	Gotl.	I	Uppsala	Upps.	Upps.	C
Gävleborg	Gävl.	Gävl.	X	Värmland	Värm.	Vrml.	S
Halland	Hall.	Hall.	N	Västerbotten	Vbn.	Vbtn.	AC
Jämtland	Jämt.	Jmtl.	Z	Västernorrland	Vn.	Vnrl.	Y
Jönköping	Jön.	Jkpg.	F	Västmanland	Väst.	Vstm.	U
Kalmar	Kalm.	Kalm.	H	Västra Götaland ^c		Vgöt.	O
Kronoberg	Kron.	Kron.	G	Örebro	Öre.	Öreb.	T
Norrbottn	Norr.	Nbtn.	BD	Östergötland	Ög.	Östg.	E
Skåne ^b		Skån.	M				

^a formerly Kopparberg (Kopp.; W) *län*.

^b includes the former counties (*län*) of Malmöhus (Malm.; M) and Kristianstad (Krist.; L).

^c includes the former counties (*län*) of Göteborg and Bohus (Göt.; O), Skaraborg (Skar.; R), and Älvsborg (Älvs.; P).

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